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IDÉE FIXE: THE MIND OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS¹

"Whatever is not of Europe or of Africa is of Asia": so every fifteenth century schoolboy learned his lesson, and so Christopher Columbus must have learned it. Asia, indeed, or rather the Asia that lay beyond Ganges, was wide enough, and vague enough, to embrace all those lands that obstinately remained undiscovered. Here lay that Ophir whence every three years Solomon fetched gold in ships of Tarshish; here lay the Isle of Gold and the Isle of Silver; here lay Cipangu, alluringly described by *Il Milione*; here the Grand Khan and Prester John kept magnificent court; here, for the mystic, was hidden the Paradise Terrestre; while here, too, for the practical man, who deemed these fabled lands as of no account, lay the producing centers of those spices upon which the wealth of such cities as Venice and Genoa was based. And in the half-educated mind, all that lay beyond Ganges was comprehended in the one vague term—the Indies.

The Indies lay at the farthest bounds eastward of the habitable world, or so conventional scholarship demanded, while at its farthest bounds westward lay Portugal and the Land of the Moors. Yet what were these "farthest bounds"

¹ The appearance of two new English translations of Columbian Documents by Cecil Jane, namely, *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (Argonaut Press) and *Voyages of Columbus*, 2 Vols. (Hakluyt Society Publications) suggested this brief study of the great admiral in the light of his own words, and of his conversations with Peter Martyr as reported in the *Decades* (Richard Eden's translation).

on which lay Indies and Portugal too? The Ocean Sea? Already the Portuguese sailors had dissipated the legend of the Sea of Darkness, and from a limiting boundary the Ocean Sea was being rapidly transformed into a highway. As a consequence, cosmographers had to add a new category to the Parts of the Earth: besides the Parts of Europe, the Parts of Africa, and the Parts of Asia, there were now the Islands of the Ocean Sea. Catalan and Genoese sailors, it is true, had long known and charted these islands, but only the organized efforts of Prince Henry the Navigator had brought them to the knowledge of the learned world.

From the ocean outpost of the Azores, the Portuguese established a new trade route, northward to Iceland, where Greenland and Vineland were not forgotten, and southward by Madeira and the Canaries, and Morocco and Guinea. Up and down this route, on the business of his employers, traveled Christopher Columbus, still a landsman, and so married a girl of Madeira.

Did his marriage influence Columbus's career? It is impossible to prove it, but certainly he was now in a circle that pored earnestly over charts and globes, that talked eagerly of problems of discovery, of the organization of efforts to discover Antillia, and that listened to the yarns of pilots who declared that they had actually set foot on that island, and could place a cross on its very location on the navigating chart. A man of just such business and travel experience as Columbus, a man, too, who made just such a marriage, this time with a girl of the Azores, was the Nuremberger, Martin Behaim, and the globe which he completed in 1492 must have been just such a one as Columbus would see. If this globe were correct, then a man who was master of Antillia was as near to India beyond Ganges as he was to Europe, and had not Ptolemy himself indicated the margin of a great unknown equatorial land lying east of the Sinus Magnus?

It is to the very vagueness of Columbus's plans, as he laid them before first one and then another, that must be traced

the controversy among scholars as to his objective. But a quite unjustifiable inference has been drawn from the repetition of the phrase "islas e tierra firme" in the negotiations with their Catholic Majesties which eventuated in the epoch-making first voyage. It has been claimed that the words quoted witness to an intention to seek a new continent, but such was not the current meaning of "tierra firme". Reference to textbooks of the period shows that lands were by definition of two kinds, islands such as Sicily and Iceland, or mainlands (tierra firme) adherent to other countries, such as France and Spain. Hence the precise, legal mind of the framer of the capitulations would use the exact phrase "islands and mainlands", rather than the loose term "lands" without any specific implications, or reference to ideas or suggestions as to the particular type of lands intended to be discovered or possessed. Nor is there any force in the often repeated contention that Columbus could not have expected to take possession of parts of India or Cathay known to the world as powerful kingdoms. There were, besides these, unknown islands and mainlands of Asia-beyond-Ganges in plenty.

Nevertheless, the evidence on the whole points to Antillia as the first objective of Columbus when his sixteen years of persistence had been rewarded, and he set a course along the parallel of Gomera. And here comes the first instance of that resilience of mind which shows Columbus to have had a fixed idea of a great discovery to be made by himself, while leaving to Divine Providence what that discovery should be. Antillia could not be found where it was marked on his navigating chart, and almost as soon as he was faced with the fact, his mind was busy upon a fresh goal: it was now Cipangu which he was so certain of reaching, for it lay right across his path. Nevertheless, when, on the 6th of October, he began to feel doubts as to whether the course laid by Pinzón was correct for Cipangu, he had no hesitation in abandoning this too, and prepared to make the mainland of Asia. Then, on

the 12th of the month he actually reached Guanahani Island, and swung back to the belief that he was near Cipangu, which he determined to make the next day. Now the "reduced" reckonings of the ships' run which Columbus says he gave to his sailors to maintain their morale were in fact pretty nearly the correct figures as reckoned by the professional pilots. The longer distances were the expression of his eager mind which must hasten the ship and lessen the way; but even so, and taking his landsman's $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles to a degree against the sailor's 70 miles, he had covered a bare quarter of the circuit of the globe from the meridian of Ferro. Even the most optimistic reckoning put Cipangu no farther east than 260° , *i.e.*, 100° west. This was, in fact, the reckoning of the Toscanelli Letter, whatever its provenance, but Columbus's eager faith read into the Indians' gesticulated description of Cuba all the particular notes of Cipangu. On reaching Cuba, his optimism carried him even farther, for he wrote:

I found it to be so extensive that I thought it must be the mainland, the Province of Cathay.

Cathay, however, according to all accounts, was most certainly in middle latitudes, and so strong was the Admiral's will to believe that he could actually perceive a change in the sea, and feel a change in the air, while he read from his quadrant the desired latitude of 42° N. though actually he was 20° farther south.

Some days elapsed, and further exploration suggested doubts: the quadrant, perhaps, was out of order, the city of the Grand Khan was somewhat further afield than he had supposed. But from his very doubts were bred fresh hopes! Cuba was not Cipangu, nor was it Cathay, it was no less than Ophir! Says Peter Martyr:

Turning therefore the sterns of his ships towards the east, he affirmed that he had found the island of Ophir, whither Solomon's ships had sailed for gold. But the description of the Cosmographers well con-

sidered, it seemeth that both these and the other islands adjoining are the Islands of Antillia.

From Cuba (Juana as he called it) Columbus proceeded to an examination of Española, and as he hastened from harbor to harbor, but still found no signs of civilized people, a half despondency overcame him, and he wrote in his Journal:

I do not know the language, and the people of these lands do not understand me, nor do I or any that I have with me understand them.

He longed for learned men to be sent out from Spain "who would understand all". But within a few hours his mind had once more adjusted itself: if not along the coast then inland there *must* (in his own phrase) be "great centers of population" and "innumerable people and things of value" where presently "all Christendom will trade". Of every native he asked news of gold, and always understood them to say that not far away it was to be found in abundance. One mischievous little lad, a "king's nephew" could dictate to him the names of six gold-bearing islands very near at hand, and when the boy left the ship Columbus observed that he was rebuked by his father, nor dreamt that it was for humoring the stranger with fables. In Española, Columbus heard continually of Cipangu, although, as he was forced to confess, "they call it Cibao", but it lay far to the east, in the direction of Spain, and it was time to abandon the search and return home with his news.

Voyaging out for the second time, Columbus had with him educated men and independent pilots and could no longer deceive himself as to the distance of Española westward. It lay only 50° from Ferro, and there must have been many to point out to him the fallacy of his claims as to Cipangu and Cathay. Once back in his "Indies" therefore, he planted a colony on Española, and himself set off thence on a further expedition toward the west. To express his conviction, he named the first cape of Cuba "Cape Alpha and Omega", for it marked

the end of the western hemisphere and the beginning of the east. A careful reading of his own words, and of the comments of his friends Bernáldez and Peter Martyr suggests that on this journey he claimed magic swiftness for his ships. The latter writes:

He sailed toward the west with a prosperous wind, for threescore and ten days; thinking that he had passed so far by the compass of the earth, being underneath us, that he had been near unto the Aurea Chersonese (now called Malacca) in our East India. For he plainly believed that he had left only two of the twelve hours of the sun [*i.e.*, only 30° out of 180°] that were unknown to us; for the old writers left half of the course of the sun untouched, whereas they have only discussed that superficial part of the Earth which lieth between the Islands of Gades and the river of Ganges: or at the uttermost to Aurea Chersonese. Thus he sailed forward, coasting ever by the shore towards the west for the space . . . of about 1300 miles.

But as Bernáldez bluntly remarked to him in discussing the matter, "in the year 1496 when he was my guest", had he traversed the sea for a further 1200 leagues in the direction in which he sought Cathay, he would not have arrived there.

It was not until 1498 that Columbus undertook his third voyage, choosing a new route much farther to the south. Here, he believed, he soon made a truly marvelous discovery. After days of suffering owing to the intense heat in Portuguese waters, the air changed, the stars too took on another order, and the ship began to ascend "the back of the sea, . . . as it were by a high mountain toward heaven". The earth, he concluded, was not perfectly round, as the cosmographers and Ptolemy, who knew only the upper half, had described it. The hemisphere "underneath us" was shaped like the stalk end of a pear, and in Paria, which he presently discovered, he discerned the cupola of the earth, upon which rested the terrestrial paradise. Not only was this a momentous discovery in itself, but it confirmed his belief that he had reached the

bounds of Asia, where, according to the writings of the Fathers, the earthly paradise was to be sought. Thus he wrote in one of his letters, and this he earnestly contended with Peter Martyr, who closes his comments on the matter with the dry remark: "Let us now therefore return to the history from which we have too much digressed".

In his journals, Columbus was always more guarded and restrained than in his letters or his conversations, but even here he emphasizes the fact that "when the point a hundred leagues west of the Azores has been passed", that is to say when his ship entered the half sphere assigned to the crown of Spain, "the sky, the sea and the climate are alike changed", and he adduced the variation of the magnetic needle as evidence of the uniqueness of this far side of the globe that he had revealed.

Meanwhile the royal license to discover was granted to companions of Columbus and others, so that the long stretch of coast running westward from Cape St. Augustine was revealed, and the term "new world", used indeed by Cardinal Ascanius Sforza after the first voyage alone, became general. Columbus, however, clung obstinately to his old beliefs, and on his fourth voyage of 1502 he "steered for Tierra Firme" not southward but westward, thus reaching Central America for the first time. Here, in accordance with his expectations, he "heard of the mines of gold and the provinces of Ciamba, which I was seeking"; he was thinking and planning still in terms of the Far East described by Marco Polo. Forever balked by one mischance and another from following up the information he obtained, he came to the Lagoon of Chiriqui, near to Veragua, where he learned of Ciguare, nine days' journey to the west; there the people went richly clothed, had chairs and tables, guns and armor, ships and fair houses. They had, besides, infinite gold, and knew of pepper. All this he learned, knowing not a word of the language!

Also they say that the sea surrounds Ciguare, and that from there it is ten days' journey to the river Ganges. It appears that there lands lie in respect of Veragua as Tortosa does in respect of Fuen-terabia, or Pisa in respect of Venice.

They lay, in fact, across a neck of land, such as he was in truth exploring. It was the first news of the South Sea, although he did not read it so.

Even as he wrote in this letter of the near neighborhood of Ganges, Columbus must have anticipated the courteous disbelief of a Peter Martyr, the blunt comment of a Bernáldez, for he rushes into a confused farrago of "evidence" for his statement.

In the year '94 [*i.e.*, on the west reconnaissance following the second voyage] I navigated twenty-four degrees to the westward in nine hours, and I cannot be in error because there was an eclipse; the sun was in Libra and the moon in Aries.

Further, Ptolemy had been in error in placing Cattigara (which Columbus undoubtedly identifies with Ciguare) "three lines", *i.e.*, 45°, farther west than Marinus had done, since the letter "is now found to have been very near the truth" Columbus goes on to repeat once more the views summarized in the *Imago Mundi* as to the extent of the land surface, and as to the size of the degree, 56⅔ miles. The latter figure, of course, still found wide acceptance among scholars, and is to be contrasted with the figure of 17½ leagues of 4 miles each, that is to say, 70 miles to a degree, as used among sailors, and found in current Portuguese navigating manuals.

Near as he was, however, to Cattigara and Ganges, they remained still beyond reach; every sort of mischance—silted rivers, worms boring the ships' hulls, treacherous Indians, fever and exhaustion—held the Admiral back from his goal. It was then that in a fevered dream he seemed to hear divine words of comfort: "What more did God for Moses", stayed on the very threshold of the promised land? Of necessity

turning back from Veragua, Columbus sailed for Jamaica, since he was forbidden to set foot in Española. On his way, he "reached the province of Mago [or, as he later writes it, Mango], which marches with that of Catayo"; he touched, in fact, the southermost shore of Cuba which, in his determined belief, from its position in respect of Veragua, was part of the mainland of Asia, where Mangi marched with Cathay.

While he waited vainly in Jamaica for assistance, all his thoughts were centered on Veragua, which he saw as the very threshold of the east, of the east with all the gold and jewels, silks and pearls, pepper and spices, which he still believed he was soon to lay at their Majesties' feet. But days of tormenting doubt intervened. Had he completed that third part of the circuit of the globe which even his most optimistic calculations found necessary in order to reach Asia? And to meet these doubts he wrapped about the voyage to Veragua a veil of mystery: the vessels were driven for days before the wind, they were swept forward by powerful currents, no one could say under what part of the heavens they were, and if the pilots aboard should seek Veragua again they would have to discover it as for the first time. Only he, Columbus, held the secret:

There is a method and a means derived from astrology, and certain, which is enough for one who understands it. This resembles a prophetic vision.

Recalling how he had been abused for not fulfilling his promises of bringing treasure from the Indies, Columbus declared that he would put a guard upon himself, and keep his counsel, but even as he wrote the magic of the word "gold", the word of power, caused his pen to run on and to reveal his belief as to Veragua. For if Josephus was correct in saying that it was from the Aurea, the Golden Chersonese, that Solomon fetched gold, then Veragua was the Aurea, since the mines of Veragua, covering twenty miles, were undoubtedly Solomon's mines. "Solomon brought all that gold,

precious stones and silver, and you may command it to be collected there if you wish". Jerusalem and Mount Sion could then be rebuilt with this treasure according to prophecy, and Christian teachers be sent to the emperor of Cathay. "Who will offer himself for this work? If our Lord bring me to Spain, I pledge myself, in the name of God, to bring him there in safety".

The hour of exaltation, in which Columbus saw himself not only as a discoverer, but as an apostle, as the restorer of the holy places, gave way to as deep a despondency, when he recalled the actual facts of his exclusion from the government of Española and Paria, while "All, down to the very tailors, seek permission to make discoveries". His tears and transports of self-pity are such as many ardent, optimistic spirits are betrayed into, and no man should be judged by a letter written in an unguarded hour of emotion. Read in relation to the concepts, to the modes of thought and expression of the day, there is no reason to suggest that this letter is the expression of a mind disordered by privation, of a man "no longer master of his own thoughts".² Columbus was, indeed, under the domination of a fixed idea, and rationalized all his experiences into harmony with his earnest wishes, but did so in a quite normal psychological process. The letter must be compared with the complete and careful written record of this fourth voyage to which Peter Martyr had access, and on which he based the narrative found in the fourth book of his third decade.

According to his own statement, all who crossed the Ocean Sea resorted to Peter Martyr on their return, and he was well equipped to deal critically with the data thus supplied. In an earlier book, he had made the bare statement that Columbus had reached Terra Firma on his forth voyage, 130 leagues west of Cabo Cruz in Cuba, thus there was, in fact, no mystery about the course sailed. In the later book he gives details

² Cecil Jane, *loc cit.*

not to be found in the letter, and discusses Columbus's interpretation of his discovery. It appears that in the account before him, the Admiral had again insisted that Veragua was on a neck of land, as broad as from Venice to Genoa, and that it was joined to India beyond Ganges. He said also that it formed part of a land mass continuous to the Hyperborean Sea, while also widening southward. All this is consistent with a belief that he had found the most easterly peninsula of southern Asia, similar to, but more extensive than, that depicted on a map of the type drawn by Henricus Martellus Germanus in 1492.³

Peter Martyr had had the advantage of examining several charts of the new discoveries, including one begun by Christopher Columbus on the fourth voyage, and added to by his brother Bartholomew, who was with him and who was a trained cartographer. The occasion of this examination was in a conference with the Bishop of Burgos held for the purpose of considering the relationship of the north and south seas according to the reports brought home of what had been ascertained from the natives, before the actual discovery by Balboa. Columbus had stated that the mountains of Veragua were fifty miles high, and that by their "roots" there was a passage from sea to sea, *i.e.*, a land passage, but Peter Martyr held strongly to the view that there must somewhere in that neighborhood be a sea-passage to allow vent for the steady west-flowing current which swept along the whole south shore of the Caribbean Sea. He makes no suggestion, however, that Columbus's views were wild or extreme.

How then is the great Admiral of the Ocean Sea to be understood? Not in the light of modern knowledge of a plurality of continents, for since all mankind was descended from the sons of Noah, and these sons had peopled the three parts of the habitable world, it was the only logical conclusion that when men were encountered neither black nor white

³ This is also clear from the extant map of Bartholomew Columbus.

in the new lands, they must be men of Asia, the land of Shem. True, there were rationalistic thinkers in the fifteenth century, but Columbus was not one of them; true, also, that there were scholars to whom the classical fourth part of the world beyond the equator was a familiar concept, but Columbus was no scholar. His cosmographical ideas were assimilated during the business travels of his young manhood, and when his great projects drove him to more systematic study of standard textbooks, he gathered from them, as is usual with the adult student, only such facts and ideas as fitted in with, or at least did not contradict, his preconceived ideas. Everything that pointed to a small world was seized upon and remembered, everything, too, that told of gold, the sole standard of value of which he was aware, or indeed of which a majority of his contemporaries were aware.

Nor is Columbus to be understood as a professional sailor. His formal knowledge of navigation, like his formal knowledge of cosmography, was acquired late, and his very instruments were subservient to his passionate beliefs, giving him the figures that he desired. If they failed him, he could take refuge from unwelcome figures in mysticism or in rhetoric. At every point, indeed, at which the behavior or words of Columbus are startling, puzzling, or even (to the hero-worshiper) distressing, the explanation is one. He was a man under the powerful dominion of an idea, the idea of his divine destiny to discover and to rule rich lands unknown. And to a Genoese (nor is there really any shadow of doubt as to his native city) rich lands and far eastern lands were synonymous. True that his travels in the Portuguese Atlantic gave him the idea of Antillia as a first objective, but his thoughts reverted rapidly to the El Dorados of his boyhood's dreams, to Cipangu and Cathay, Tarshish and Ophir, the Golden Chersonese and the earthly paradise itself. King Solomon's mines had warrant of holy scripture, and it required only resolution to make them mines of Spain, under the governor-

ship of Christopher Columbus, admiral of the Ocean Sea, the first to search the secrets of the underside of the terrestrial globe.

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ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL RIVALRY ON THE PLATA, 1820-1830

I

The following sketch of one of the most interesting aspects of early Anglo-American rivalry in Hispanic America was made possible by a comparison of the relevant British and United States diplomatic correspondence, a task hitherto not undertaken,¹ and by investigation into the little known but large body of contemporary literature dealing with the general subject of the trade and political rivalry of the United States and Great Britain in Hispanic America.

In the 1820's, the viceroyalty of the Plata, as freed from Spain, consisted on paper of an immense region stretching from southern Brazil down to the middle of the Argentine, and from the Atlantic westward to the Andes.² Of this region, however, Paraguay, long considered the fairest portion of the viceroyalty—a land richly watered and exceedingly fertile, although still largely forested—had shut itself, under Francia, the dictator, off from any but a negligible connection with the outside world. In the second portion of the viceroyalty, the district commonly called the Banda Oriental or

¹ Professor Temperley, in his book upon the foreign policy of Canning, comments upon the war over the Banda; and Professor Suárez, of the University of Buenos Aires, has published a short article upon the reception of the Monroe Doctrine in the Argentine. See also *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X, February, 1930, for an article by Watt Stewart on "Argentina and the Monroe Doctrine, 1824-1828". Mention should also be made of J. Fred Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), for a short recent account, based on the relevant diplomatic correspondence, of Anglo-American rivalry on the Plata.

² For an excellent early description of the whole Plata region, see the report of the United States commissioner in 1917 to the new South American States, quoted in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, I., part II, no. 241.

eastern bank of the Uruguay, the revolutionary wars had ruined the great cattle-raising industry, which had given the region its first prosperity. In 1820, the population of the Banda had decreased by two-thirds, and Montevideo lay exhausted, as if the plague had passed over it. The commerce of the third portion of the old viceroyalty, comprising an elevated, dry, sandy plain embracing Santiago, parts of Córdoba, and the non-mountainous portions of Salta and Tucumán, had formerly gone by mule over the Andes to Peru, but now, on account of the presence of Spanish armies there, sought the Plata River system. But the trade of this region was very slight. The most westerly portion of the viceroyalty consisted of a mountainous waste. Mining had early attracted settlers; but, by 1818, the district was turning to agriculture, as the mines had proved to be less productive than those of Chile.

During most of the 1820's, therefore, the region of the Plata meant in reality simply the cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo and their surrounding pampas, together with a few inland provincial towns and mining areas. But meager though this region was, compared with the Plata region of today, it had formed one of the earliest centers of foreign, and particularly of British, trade with Hispanic America. As early as 1713, indeed, by the treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain had been granted by Spain the right to establish "counting houses" (commercial agencies) in Buenos Aires as well as in New Granada. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the British had become not only the pioneers in Spanish American trade, but also the largest importers of European goods to those regions. In 1811, a British consul had been appointed to Buenos Aires.³ The Popham Expedition⁴ of 1806 greatly stimulated British trade with the Argen-

³ This consul, however, was refused an exequatur by the Spanish authorities. The first British consul to be appointed and received in Buenos Aires was after the revolution, in 1824.

⁴ The City of London presented a sword to General Popham in appreciation of his success in opening up new markets to British trade.

tine and the Banda, and in particular brought about the establishment of British enterprises on the Uruguayan pampas.

With the abdication in 1807 of Ferdinand VII., a period of rapidly increasing British trade with Hispanic America in general and with the Argentine in particular set in. From 1810 onwards, when freedom of commerce, together with independence, was proclaimed in Buenos Aires, British traders poured into the country. In 1811, a British Merchant Clearing House was incorporated. The government of Buenos Aires had already (1810) reduced duties on exports from 40 per cent to 15 per cent, and was disposed to reduce duties on imports by 40 per cent. The result was that, from 1810 to 1820, British goods repeatedly flooded the country, often with articles as unsuitable as skates and warming pans. In 1810, £2,210,000 worth of goods were sent from Great Britain. In 1818, Argentine exports, of which the greater bulk went to England, amounted to £10,000,000 in specie alone, in payment for goods imported from Great Britain.

In Buenos Aires, no less than in Venezuela, British traders naturally from the start aided the revolutionary movement. As a result, British influence, backed by the diplomacy of British naval captains who, from time to time, appeared in South Atlantic waters, soon became predominant with the new republican governments. It is not, therefore, surprising that, by 1820, the Plata region ranked next to Brazil as the chief field of British enterprise and consequent influence in Hispanic America; while Buenos Aires, as a result of its trade with England, and of its position as the only great Spanish American city on the sea, ranked far ahead of all other Spanish American cities in the volume of its wealth and commerce.⁵ Landing facilities might be difficult, the

⁵ According to Moses, *Spain's Declining Power*, the city had 24,205 inhabitants in 1778; in 1800, 40,000; and in 1810, 46,000. The first British consul general, Parish, in his book upon Buenos Aires (London, 1838), gives: 1778, 37,679; 1800, 72,000. Cf. the report of the United States commissioner, in 1818, which puts the population at 60,000. Cf. also Public Record Office, London, 6-1, for a

Plata hard to navigate, but the flat, noisy city, with its great hinterland of cattle, could pay in hides and jerked beef for increasingly large quantities of British and other foreign manufactures.

Under Rivadavia's wise administration, in fact, it seemed as if a magnificent future awaited Buenos Aires. The Argentine government was aspiring to become the most modern, as well as the most independent in Hispanic America; and Rivadavia was particularly determined to avoid the financial extravagance which had already begun to characterize the other new states. Only when the Argentine government challenged the vast empire of Brazil to a life and death struggle for the possession of the Banda Oriental did the prosperity of Buenos Aires crumble; and even then the obstinately continued war, followed by revolution in the Banda and in the Argentine, only postponed, for a time, the further development of the Argentine and of Uruguay by British capital.

In adversity, however, as well as in prosperity, the region of the Plata provided during the 1820's the prime field for British enterprise in the new world. In 1822, of the 15,000 foreigners in the federation, 3,500 were British; and in their hands lay the greater part of the foreign commerce of the region.⁶ Most of them lived in the city of Buenos Aires; but a number owned large *estancias* on the pampas; and some resided across the Plata estuary, in Montevideo, and on the enormous *estancias* farther inland. In Buenos Aires alone there were thirty-nine British commercial houses, with correspondents at Rio and at Montevideo.⁷ The majority of the British merchants, it is interesting to note, were Scotch. There were, besides, a host of English and Scotch shopkeepers, not only in the capital but in the various provincial

letter from Robertson, a prominent British merchant in Buenos Aires, to his son in England, dated May 7, 1823.

⁶ P. R. O., London, 6-1, Memorandum of June 26, 1825.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6-3, Parish to Canning, April 25, 1824.

towns. Several of the wealthier British merchants had become directors of Argentine banks; and, in 1821, a group of these merchants were rich enough to make a loan to the government. In 1820, some thirty Englishmen had organized themselves into an honorary escort to the governor of the city. As early as 1824, the British government inaugurated a line of packets between Buenos Aires and Liverpool, which made the voyage in the record time of forty-seven days. Further evidence of British influence may be seen in the fact that a British resident of Buenos Aires had acquired a monopoly of shipping cattle to the Falkland Islands, and had sent a colony to settle there. Another Englishman had erected the government mint, opened in 1825. Still another Englishman had set up a school for boys; while an English gentlewoman had established a highly respectable seminary of seventy girls. There were in the city also five British doctors, a British newspaper editor and a British newspaper, and of course a British chaplain.

So great was the volume of British trade with the Plata region in 1822 that the British government, under pressure of commercial circles, decided to send out a mission of inquiry to report on the question of whether a stable government worthy of recognition existed at Buenos Aires. The favorable report which followed furnished the keystone of Canning's policy of immediate recognition of Buenos Aires, Colombia, and Mexico; and British trade with the Plata was the one most benefited by Canning's policy. Nowhere else, in fact, in Hispanic America was so much British capital invested in 1823 and 1824 as in the region of the Plata. In 1824, Parish, the first British consul general at Buenos Aires, in one of his many careful commercial reports, wrote that the magnitude of British interests exceeded all others, and that half the public debt of the government, for example, and the best part of the most valuable private property was held by Englishmen. In one of his first dispatches, Forbes, the United States consul general, confirmed these facts by reporting that the

British were daily acquiring more property in the Argentine and the Banda, and that British capital was acquiring further control inland by the purchase of mines, ranches, stocks, and mortgages.⁸ In Buenos Aires itself, moreover, there emerged a vast plan for launching a British agricultural and military colony against the Indians while British capital, with what Forbes characterized as a sordid commercial spirit, was known to be behind a further scheme, originated by an American named White, to construct a harbor and docks at Enseñada, twenty-five miles below Buenos Aires, where there was a better approach by water than at the city itself. "In a few years", wrote Caldeleugh, a well-informed British traveler, in his book upon "South America in 1825",

we may justly suppose that English trade with the Rio de la Plata will double its present amount, just as soon as the provinces begin to take our goods at reasonable prices.

Both native woolen and cotton manufactures, as well as every other sort of manufactured article, save ponchos, were, in fact, totally lacking in the capital city and in the provinces. It is, therefore, an indication of the rapid growth of British trade that in November, 1825, British consuls were appointed to a number of provincial cities in the inland regions of the Plata.⁹

Nowhere, in fact, were so many speculators ruined by the panic of 1825 in England as were those who had invested in the Argentine.¹⁰ In mining, especially, as Forbes with the

⁸ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 17, Forbes to Clay, March 30, 1825; and no. 21, June 17, 1825. Cf. also Private, March 31, 1825, for Parish's work in gathering information useful to British enterprise, and for his negotiations with Francia as to a commercial treaty.

⁹ P. R. O., 6-7, Canning to Parish, November 16, 1825.

¹⁰ One of the prettiest stories of this period of ludicrous speculation is that of a British Churning Company, formed to import Scotch milkmaids to tend Argentine cows. But it was found that the butter would not keep, and that in any case the inhabitants of Buenos Aires used oil preferably as a medium with which to cook.

joy of rivalry noted, British investments proved disastrous.¹¹ It was found that the ores were of poor quality, and that attempts to introduce Cornish miners were expensive and ill-advised. Besides, the mines lay in barren country, at the immense distance of 1,500 miles from the sea.¹² British enterprise, indeed, in Hispanic America did not recover from the panic of 1825; for after the panic came the war over the Banda, with its consequent blockading and privateering. British capital was naturally the greatest sufferer, to such an extent that, although this suffering was caused by the very rules of blockade, the maintenance of which was considered essential to British maritime interests, British merchants—as we shall see—were finally very nearly forced to demand protection on very nearly the same terms as the United States merchants, who held the diametrically opposite views of maritime law.

But the failure of the mines and the long-drawn-out war over the Banda were offset by the development of cattle raising and by the consequently increased trade in hides,¹³ jerked

¹¹ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 29, Forbes to Clay, December 25, 1825.

¹² The mines lay at Farmatina, at San Luis, and at Uspallata. The British Farmatina Company had to abandon its mines, as had a previous company in 1824. Another mining company, the Rio Plata Association, lost £60,000, "the whole of our stockholders' money", as the report of the company's mining engineer put it. This engineer, Head, in his book on mining enterprises in the Argentine, accused the directors of the Rio Plata Association of gross extravagance, as in giving £30,000 to the government of Buenos Aires for its good will, and in paying Rivadavia a salary of £1,200 a year. Captain Head's report in 1827 on mining stopped, in fact, all further enterprises of that sort in the region of the Plata for the next thirty-five years.

Cf. Quarterly Review XXXVI, June, 1827, F. B. Head, on the Rio Plata Mining Association, for interesting details of British mining mistakes; also McCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce*, article on Mining, for a very good discussion of the causes of failure of British mining ventures in Hispanic America. Only one British Mining company survived in the Argentine.

¹³ In the late 1820's, 500,000 hides were sent from the Argentine to England annually; *cf.* 34,000 from Germany and 35,000 from Holland. The ruin of the Banda in 1813 during the revolution had brought about a rapid rise of the cattle industry on the formerly agricultural Argentine pampas. At the same time, the demand for hides in Europe was rapidly increasing; and British agents, wrote Caldcleugh, scoured the country, buying up the cattle with specie at such

beef, tallow, horns, and hair. Soon coffee, salt, dried fruits, tobacco, and flax began also to figure among Argentine exports. The only great product of the region which, owing to political conditions in Paraguay, could not be exported, was maté.¹⁴ Finally, in the late 1820's, with the termination of the war over the Banda, Uruguay, where the British had all along retained large interests,¹⁵ became open to trade under a government of its own. In 1834, Uruguayan exports totaled £2,574,625, while imports reached £1,694,810. A third of this trade lay in British hands and this trade was rapidly increasing.¹⁶ In the early 1830's, too, the Argentine Federation itself took more British imports than did Spain itself. The gaucho was completely clothed and equipped with British goods; and the Argentine took, and has continued to take, proportionately more British goods than any other country in Hispanic America. Paraguay alone remained closed to British and other foreign trade.

Meanwhile, during the 1820's, only three United States commercial houses were established in Buenos Aires, and few people from the United States had come to the Argentine, save for a few casual travelers and a fair number of mechanics, who seem to have done well. The Americans, it was said, were easily distinguishable from the British, because they generally wore white hats and spectacles, and because they carried sticks. In what esteem they stood in general is not known. The United States minister, Rodney, a plain republi-

a rate that a decree had to be passed against indiscriminate slaughter. Cattle raising alone would have given the Argentine a degree of prosperity far above that of any of the other new states, had not war and revolution ruined the federation, just as war and revolution ruined Mexico and Colombia.

¹⁴ In 1814, the dictator of Paraguay, Francia, was willing to open the country to foreign commerce by means of a commercial treaty with England. But Buenos Aires would not allow the Plata to be used as a free river; and the Paraguayan proposal was not renewed.

¹⁵ Mulhall, *The English in South America*, mentions several large estancias on the Rio Negro. One of them stretched for over sixty miles. Another possessed 50,000 cattle and 100,000 sheep.

¹⁶ In 1836, British imports to Montevideo totaled £15,000,000.

can of the old school, was personally highly regarded. American trade with the Plata, while not inconsiderable, occupied an unenviable position. The rise of United States trade had been, indeed, owing to the artificial situation created by the Napoleonic wars, in consequence of which the Spanish viceroy had been compelled by circumstances to allow neutral (*i.e.*, North American) ships to enter Argentine ports and carry away their commercial products. Later, trade with the United States depended upon other particular circumstances, such as bad harvests in the Plata region; and, still later, growth was largely owing to the advantageous neutral position of North American shipping from 1826 to 1828, during the Brazilian blockade of the Argentine coast. In view of these particular facts, it is not surprising to find the United States minister at Rio writing in 1813 that

the British enjoy the chief of the trade in the present state of things, and keep a vessel of war opposite or near Buenos Aires to receive the collections of money and send it off—the export of it being prohibited. . . . I do not believe that the trade of the Plata will be as valuable to us hereafter as it was under the colonial régime, when Spain was at war with Great Britain.¹⁷

In 1821, the United States consul general at Buenos Aires, Forbes, told the Buenos Airean government that “the commerce of this country offers no advantage to the North Americans”.¹⁸ “The materials of interest with Buenos Ayres are so slender as to make a commercial treaty unnecessary”, and would remain so, wrote Adams in 1823.¹⁹ The fact was that the United States and the Argentine produced practically the same things. Commerce was, therefore, possible only because of the lack in the Argentine of salt and lumber,²⁰ and of such

¹⁷ Manning, *Dip Corr.*, II., part III, no. 331.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 261.

¹⁹ Adams, *Writings*, VII., to Rodney, May 17, 1823.

²⁰ Many old American vessels were sent to Buenos Aires to be broken up and sold.

staple simple manufactured articles as soap, dry goods, and unbleached cotton; and trade in these articles was possible only because United States ships found it advantageous to bring such bulky cargoes on the outward voyage when bound for China; while, on the way back, laden with silk and tea, they had plenty of space for such bulky goods as jerked beef, a product which could be easily sold in Cuba. United States merchant ships engaged also to some extent in carrying European goods to the Plata. The most lucrative trade, however, lay in flour. Early in the 1820's, indeed, a succession of bad harvests made the Argentine entirely dependent upon Baltimore. In 1823, Buenos Aires imported 70,000 barrels; in 1824, 76,463 barrels. During these years, therefore, a United States vessel, without prolonging the voyage to China, had still a very good route. It could bring flour to Buenos Aires, take on there a cargo of hides and jerked beef, and exchange these at Havana for sugar for the United States market. But in 1825, the importation of flour into the Argentine was prohibited, and not many years later, Buenos Aires began to produce its own.²¹

Under these artificial conditions, it is surprising that United States trade with the Argentine increased in general so rapidly that it actually became a very close competitor against that of Great Britain. In 1810, only 10 per cent of the foreign shipping at Buenos Aires was North American; but in 1824, United States shipping actually overtopped British shipping in bulk; and coarse United States cottons, which found much favor, were in a fair way to drive out British goods of similar grade.²² These figures were encouraging, and they continued up to the end of the war over the Banda.

All during the 1820's, however, as the United States diplomatic correspondence with the Argentine shows, the North Americans interested in Argentine trade felt keenly the contrast between their inferior position and influence on the

²¹ In 1838, enough flour was milled to make export of it possible.

²² U. S. Arch., Instructions, vol. 10, no. 1, Clay to Forbes, April 14, 1825.

Plata, and the extremely powerful commercial and political position of the British. As a report of the year 1818 puts it bitterly,²⁸ about one half

the aggregate amount of foreign imports into the Argentine (which, within the last two or three years, have been estimated at about eight billion dollars per annum) consists of British manufactures and production of one kind or another,

while of the rest (made up principally of French, German, and Italian goods) only "a small proportion" consisted "of the manufactures and productions of the United States". Latterly "our trade . . . has been very limited, and has consisted rather in carrying the goods of the European and Indian continents" in ships which called incidentally at Buenos Aires on their way round the Horn. The British at present were "pursuing with avidity a free, peaceful, and lucrative commerce". Later, although the Argentine market continued to be overstocked with British goods, British merchants became better acquainted with the wants of the inhabitants and began to make some articles especially suitable to the conditions of the country. European military stores, for example, brought direct in British ships, were more suitable and also undersold those brought via the United States in American ships.

It is clear that this situation was bound to result in feelings of jealousy and mistrust on the part of traders and ship-pers from the United States, whenever they came up against the various entrenched British commercial activities which have been described; and it is natural that the North Americans attributed them in part to unfair local privileges in favor of the British.

The following extract from one of the early United States commissioner's reports, itself a very curious specimen of United States diplomatic writing, manifests these sentiments

²⁸ Written by Judge Bland, a member of the first United States diplomatic mission to South America.

very distinctly.²⁴ In all their commercial dealings, the report begins, the British, to the North Americans' dismay, cared nothing for "the establishment of free institutions everywhere"; all they sought was unrestricted trade, for the sake of which they were quite prepared to undermine republican principles, on the ground that the factional rivalry which developed from a republican régime hindered their commerce. The English, wrote the United States agent,

are taking the lead here,—and yet it appears they do not in any manner identify themselves with the government. . . . They are not a popular nation in a foreign land, because they often rudely compliment everything english [*sic*] at the expense of the country where they carry on their trade. The American is seldom so partial—and scarcely ever so impolite. He is therefore more popular on that head, but John Bull, being more in the habit of complimenting and counting rank and title in his country, can please on that particular abroad, while Brother Jonathan is mainly stiff and sometimes even offensive in that particular. However, I think the latter the better beloved,—but as he is completely borne down by the wealth and influence of the other in South America, his might here, I assure you, is extremely delicate and precarious. Their enemies, too, say that the English seem to dislike everybody who does not think them and their government the best in the world, and in Diplomatic manners seem to think that whatever makes for the aggrandisement of the British nation, or its great commercial interest, even morally justifiable. I am not their enemy,—but suspect something of this is true. . . . Nothing but some great political movement of our government can give us importance in these countries. . . . We can excel South America in trade or any other nation on earth, except the gigantic commercial abilities of the English. . . .

I suspect we have been of much greater service to the Patriots than they are aware of,—that is, our Cabinet have influenced the conduct of the European powers towards these peoples. . . . But if such has been the case, they give us no credit for it,—they ascribe all the credit to their foreign agents, to the goodness of their cause, and the uninfluenced favorable opinion of those Powers. We, they think,

²⁴ This dispatch, of the year 1819, is printed in full in Manning, *Dip. Corr.* I., part II, no. 249.

ought to have done everything and have done nothing for them. They should be set to rights on this subject, if we can do it.

The principal resources of the Argentine, the report concludes,

since the commencement of their revolution, have been derived from the commerce of Great Britain, and the manufactures of that country have become necessary to that people. The great benefits derived from that trade will never be sacrificed to their gratitude to us, for having been the first nation to acknowledge their independence.

This last sentence well epitomizes the bitterness of Anglo-American rivalry in Hispanic America. Nowhere else, in fact, in early United States official documents, can be found so clear and ingenuous an explanation of the reasons for the anti-British feelings entertained by the diplomats and traders from the United States. In all fairness, however, it must be at once stated that Great Britain's supremacy did not, as will be seen, always bring goodwill on the part of the Argentines. In the Argentine, as elsewhere, dislike of foreigners was with the inhabitants a ruling passion; and only by continuous efforts, and by the exploitation of many resources of diplomacy, did Canning, as we shall see, succeed in keeping British prestige to the high point which we have described.

II

So high did British commercial prestige in the early 1820's stand in the Argentine, that it may be said that that country held first rank among Hispanic American states in acknowledging Great Britain's political as well as commercial power.²⁵ The Argentine Federation, indeed, went so far as to instruct its diplomatic agents to proceed to London before going to their posts.²⁶ The best Argentine families sent their sons to

²⁵ Cf. Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine*, Appendix, for a short sketch of Great Britain's position in 1823 in each of the Hispanic American states.

²⁶ E.g., San Martin in 1824; and also the first Argentine minister to the United States.

be educated in England. And to Canning, as we shall see, the Argentine government turned for advice in the first of its foreign crises, a subject which will be treated in the next section.

With regard first of all to Britain's political position in the Argentine, as contrasted with that of the United States, we find that as early as 1821, Forbes, the United States consul-general at Buenos Aires, not only acknowledging the extent of British prestige, but describing it as follows:²⁷

The prevailing feeling among the natives here is one of distrust mingled with something of contempt. . . . They do not love the English, but the Government likes much the revenue derived from their rich commerce, and individuals like the fine things furnished at low prices; yet, with all these motives to cherish British commerce, there is a strong desire on the part of the principal Creole merchants to monopolize the commerce of the country to the entire exclusion of foreigners, and this party was very active in fomenting the discussion which arose last April between this government and the British merchants.

This was a clear statement of one very important aspect of affairs which mitigated foreign commercial and political influence in Hispanic America; and this statement puts British influence at its lowest terms. A year later, however, Forbes contrasted more specifically the position of Great Britain and the United States by describing the attitude of the British and the Argentines toward each other and toward the United States. News of United States recognition had just arrived, and Rivadavia, true to Latin exuberance,

at the dinner at the University, . . . in an animated speech of half an hour, spoke in terms of enthusiastic eulogy of the United States, which he declared to be greater than that of any other government in the world.²⁸

²⁷ Manning, *Dtp. Corr.*, I., part II, no. 276.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I., part II, no. 281.

But the foreigners in Buenos Aires, "finding it difficult to *descredit* the report" of American recognition,

made every possible suggestion to depreciate its importance, particularly the English, who asked, in the spirit of their own selfish policy, what the United States were to receive in *payment* of this Act of nugatory protection. . . . Not a solitary Englishman had the generosity to offer me his felicitations on the consession.

A year later, Forbes reported that, on the Fourth of July, "all that was done by the government here was to run up their flag for an instant at noon, fire a single gun, and lower their flag;" while "without any official representation" on the part of the British, the government kept the flag flying all day on St. George's Day, and at sunset set off a regular salute of eleven guns.²⁹ At the banquet, moreover, which the British gave on that day, Rivadavia proposed a toast, published the next day in the Official Gazette: "To the most wise government, the English,—to the most moral and enlightened nation, England."

In 1824, Forbes found it difficult to discover "any gentleman of rank or influence, who is not directly or indirectly subservient to British influence."³⁰ Earlier in the year, in fact, when he was presented to the Argentine government as chargé, he found "the external, popular demonstrations excessively cold."³¹ Everyone, on the other hand, courted the British consul, in the hope of securing the vastly more important prize of British recognition. Later in the year, gratitude at the news of Monroe's message was offset by interest in Canning's publication of the Polignac Memorandum, together with his correspondence with the Spanish government

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I., part II, no. 289.

³⁰ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 7, Forbes to Adams, August 13, 1824.

³¹ Manning, *Dip. Corr.*, I., part II, no. 295. Rodney, the first minister from the United States, had been too ill ever to present his credentials; cf. U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 6, Forbes to Adams, June 17, 1824. Forbes, who succeeded him, had served already as consul general and secretary of legation at Buenos Aires and knew the ground well.

with regard to recognition of the Hispanic American states. At the end of the year, therefore, Forbes reported bitterly that it was scarcely too much to say that

England derives from this country and from Chile all the advantages of colonial dependence, without the responsibility or expense of civil or military administration.⁸²

Such a situation, Forbes felt, constituted a danger to the United States position in Hispanic America in general, and a menace in particular to their policy of freedom of trade. To raise the prestige of the United States, therefore, and to thwart British commercial and political influence became for Forbes the absorbing preoccupations of his career as United States minister in the Argentine. In three notable cases he took it upon himself to act; and in each case, as we shall see, he was successful in bettering his country's position.

Forbes's first efforts were directed toward bettering his country's commercial position. The British, he believed, by means of their consul general, Parish, and their Merchants Association, and also by means of British merchants' connections with the Argentine banks, were monopolizing foreign trade in an unfair manner, with special intent to ruin the commerce of the United States. When, for example, United States cottons, imported into the Argentine in United States ships, began, three years before Parish's arrival, to compete with similar British products, the British Merchants Association passed a resolution against "the extraordinary increase of United States trade to the prejudice of British interests"; and endeavored to drive out these North American products. Forbes successfully combated this attempt. Not long afterward, however, the British merchants attacked the imports of flour from the United States, alleging that they were paralyzing the development of Argentine agriculture, and were

⁸² U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 11, Forbes to Adams, November 11, 1824.

robbing the country also of its specie.³³ "It was, however", in reality, our "competition in shipping", Forbes explained, "and not the condition of the Argentine, which angered the British".³⁴ When, therefore, the British, despite his protests, persuaded the Argentine government to put a ban upon the importation of foreign flour, Forbes made it his one endeavor to have the embargo rescinded; and, with the aid of the able Argentine foreign minister, García, a close friend of his, he finally succeeded. But the duty on flour imports was raised, and Forbes remained convinced that "the occult finger of British influence operated in the affair".³⁵ In August, 1824, therefore, he wrote with evident pleasure that it is said the confidence of the London capitalists in South American funds has been so far impaired that the pending loan to this Government will not be effected.

There was, moreover, to be observed the beginning of what he believed would be a "race for power and influence here . . . between England and France", in which "the weight of commercial wealth and maritime power is on the one scale, and that of religious sympathy and the most subtle intrigue . . . on the other".³⁶

In this atmosphere of commercial and political rivalry, Forbes strove in a second way to raise his country's prestige.

³³ Payment for flour was, however, as Forbes explained, made in jerked beef, a natural Argentine export, and one which gave American ships a useful return cargo.

³⁴ The British, he declared, were desirous also of driving out the importation of Chinese goods in United States merchant ships, because these goods, being very costly and taking up little room, depended upon a bulky cargo like flour being sold on the outward voyage.

³⁵ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, nos. 17 and 27, Forbes to Clay, March 30 and November 16, 1825. Forbes complained loudly of the lack of interest on the part of the United States merchants concerned, and declared that he had had no support whatsoever from them in his negotiations with the Argentine Foreign Office.

³⁶ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, Forbes to Clay, Private, July 1, 1825. "I want to give the General Congress", he added, "an engraving of you, with your speech on recognition".

When, for example, the British editor of the *Argos*, a newspaper published in English in Buenos Aires, refrained from publishing an important account of British and United States foreign policy (written by the governor of the Province of Entre Rios), because it favored the policy of the United States, Forbes had some of Clay's speeches translated into Spanish and published in pamphlet form, with a dashing picture of Clay as a frontispiece.³⁷

A more important incident occurred in 1825 when, upon the news of England's recognition of the Argentine, Parish was made the hero of an official banquet given on St. Andrew's Day to celebrate the occasion. "I expected", wrote Parish, that "the tables and chairs would have followed all the bottles and glass out of the windows, in true Spanish style." In the days after this exuberance, Forbes took occasion to ask Argentine government officials what benefits they thought England expected to obtain from its recognition. It was certain, he believed, that Parish would try to embody these in the treaty which he was empowered to conclude with the Argentine government; and it was, therefore, vital to the interests of the United States to prevent Parish from consolidating his ascendancy in such a definite fashion. What followed was, in Parish's words,³⁸

a great deal of intrigue against [the Treaty] amongst the foreigners, but principally set going by the Yankees, who have been working in every way upon the ignorance of the people. Forbes has not confined himself to private insinuations, but has addressed a note to the Government upon the subject, of which I have obtained a copy. . . . The great object [of the Americans] has been to defeat the negotiations by persuading the natives that Great Britain is only working for her own benefit, and will certainly humbug them; that a treaty is no recognition; and that the United States are their only sincere friends, *and ought to have the first place in their estimation*. They are much out of humor at the result.

³⁷ *Life of Parish*: Parish to Planta (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs), December 22, 1825.

³⁸ P. E. O., Argentine, 6-8, Parish to Planta, Private, February 18, 1825.

Forbes's note, referred to above, was in reality an official memorandum,³⁹ and constituted a decisive move which he felt called upon to make to the government of the newly formed federation, because of his deep mistrust of its weakness in the face of Parish's negotiations.⁴⁰ The note reminded the Argentine foreign minister in forceful terms that the United States, in conformity with its policy of insisting upon freedom of commerce, expected from the Argentine Federation nothing less than most-favored-nation treatment. This "caveat" was accompanied by a private reminder to García of how mercenary and egotistical Canning was showing himself by withholding recognition until Parish's treaty should be ratified.

Forbes's note was in reality unnecessary, for Canning had no intention of exacting special privileges anywhere in Hispanic America as the price of recognition. But the note enabled Forbes to claim as of right for the United States a commercial status equal to the very generous one which the Parish treaty conceded to Great Britain.⁴¹

Forbes had been, perhaps, overzealous in imputing unfriendly motives to the British negotiator; but his anxiety was justified by the way in which British merchants had formerly tried to discriminate against United States commerce, and by the extent to which British political influence, as a result of British trade, had risen in the federation; and it was justified also by Forbes's foreboding of the highly beneficial

³⁹ It is dated December 6, 1824.

⁴⁰ "These people", wrote Forbes to Adams (U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 12, December 17, 1824), "cannot understand moral influence". As to us, "We are used in the [Argentine] State Papers as a rhetorical ornament, a mere figure of speech, and our recognition has been impudently assimilated, in importance, to a similar measure on the part of one of their smallest Provinces".

⁴¹ Parish, it is interesting to note, did not believe that the United States government was acting in good faith in its commercial relations with the Argentine. It desired, he stated, the same status as England in the Argentine with respect to trade, but it refused to make a commercial treaty with the federation, because it was unwilling to grant to the Argentine most-favored-nation treatment in United States ports, a status which the federation would naturally claim on the basis of its treaty with Great Britain.

effect which Parish's treaty would have upon the further development of British trade. That this forecast was not exaggerated is proved by the fact that Parish himself, a most moderate man in his judgments, writing to Canning a few days after the signing of the British Treaty, declared⁴² that "the only question now remaining⁴³ in any way likely to interfere with the firm establishment of our interests and influence in this country" was that of the Banda Oriental, for possession of which the Argentine and Brazil were about to come to blows.

Had, in fact, the region of the Plata remained tranquil, no efforts of Forbes could have broken down the firmly acquired position of the British; and nothing could have been done to save United States trade from a certain amount of discrimination by reason of the exactions of British and Argentine merchants. But it was just this question of the Banda which, leading as it did in 1825 to war, considerably reduced British trade and lowered England's position to one more nearly equal to that of the United States. It was, therefore, just this question of the Banda which stirred Forbes into new activity, against what he thought to be new and greater schemes on the part of the British government to increase its domination over the Plata region.

III

The war between the Argentine and Brazil for possession of the Banda Oriental of the Uruguay shows, indeed, more clearly than any other episode of the time how intense the rivalry between the United States and England in the Plata region was; and it illustrates the third and most important way in which Forbes acted, in order to increase the prestige of his country in the Argentine.

⁴² P. R. O., 6-8, Parish to Planta, Private, February 18, 1825.

⁴³ *I.e.*, now that Peru had been freed from the Spaniards by the battle of Ayacucho, December 9, 1824.

Early in 1825, at the beginning of the war,⁴⁴ it became evident that England's prestige in both the Argentine and Brazil would lend great force to whatever advice or mediation it might give or be asked to give. It was, moreover, natural that a war for possession of the Banda would engage Canning's most serious attention; for a war between the Argentine and Brazil meant a war between England's two greatest customers in Hispanic America; and it meant, as well, a war between the empire whose erection represented Canning's greatest diplomatic triumph in the new world, and the republic upon whose importance to British trade Canning had based his recognition policy. In the fate of the Banda, moreover, hung the fate of a great region for future commercial expansion, and the fate of the most important of the South American rivers.

It is thus evident that Canning was bound to offer his good offices, and eventually his mediation, so as to prevent both sides from continuing the war too long, to their own danger and to the danger of Great Britain itself. For a while, however, Canning refrained from actually offering to mediate;⁴⁵ but he at once declared⁴⁶ that

motives of self interest as well as of benevolence induce us to employ our good offices, convinced as we are that if once the newly established states [in Hispanic America] begin to quarrel, not only will their independence itself become precarious, but . . . war . . . may ere long spread to Europe.

The fate of the Banda, indeed, assumed in Canning's eyes the importance of a major international problem, the first great one to arise on the scene of Hispanic America as an independent continent.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ War was actually started in October, 1825, by the declaration of the Argentine government, "re-incorporating" the Banda.

⁴⁵ P. R. O., 6-9, no. 61, September 10, 1825, Canning to Parish.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7, no. 13, October [?], 1824, Canning to Parish.

⁴⁷ Manning, *Dip. Corr.*, II., part III, no. 399.

Canning, in consequence, soon came to see that actual mediation, and nothing less, was necessary. The difficulty was to find suitable terms. To Buenos Aires, the Banda represented a great granary and pasture land, belonging to it by virtue of its former inclusion in the Spanish viceroyalty of the Plata. The continued possession, moreover, of the left bank of the Plata by the immense empire of Brazil would, so the Argentine government feared, enable Brazil to close the great water highway to the upper Argentine provinces and to Paraguay and Peru. On the basis, therefore, of the "uti possidetis of 1810"—one of the first fundamental principles of Argentine, and indeed of Hispanic American diplomacy⁴⁸—the federation was determined to repossess the Banda; and it determined, if necessary, to appeal for aid to its fellow republics and to England and to the United States. In the eyes of Brazil, however, the Banda had become an integral part of the empire, having first of all been occupied and defended by Portugal, with Spain's consent; and having then been annexed, with the express consent of the inhabitants, to Portugal's successor, the Brazilian Empire. The emperor of Brazil was, moreover, convinced that the relinquishment of the Banda would prove a fatal blow to his régime; and he was, therefore, he declared, prepared to defend it with his life.

Not only were these pretensions of the two claimants to the Banda impossible to reconcile, and likely to result in a long and bitter war, but an added danger arose from the fact that the Argentine, if successful, might itself restrict trade on the Plata at its pleasure; while, on the other hand, if Brazil were successful, then the Argentine might turn the war into one of principle, with Bolívar and perhaps the United States heading a league of republics against the Brazilian empire.

⁴⁸ This principle was one of the four cardinal principles of Argentine foreign policy. The others were common action between the Spanish American republics; isolation from European politics; and an entente, first of all with England, and then with the United States.

From the beginning of the dispute, therefore, Parish had urged upon the Argentine government the need for slow procedure—which it did not follow—and the necessity of invoking British mediation. The British minister at Rio did the same with the government of the emperor. The result was that Canning had the satisfaction of receiving requests for mediation from both parties to the dispute. But dispatches took so long a time to come and go that events continually developed too fast for his control; and British mediation came to mean the mediation of the British ministers at Rio and Buenos Aires, who modified and expanded Canning's ideas to suit the changing situations.

Canning's first idea, with which Rivadavia for a time concurred,⁴⁹ was to appeal to Emperor Dom Pedro's sense of moderation, and to suggest that he relinquish the Banda in return for a substantial indemnity from the Argentine.⁵⁰ For a time, Canning thought that this plan of purchase might succeed. But Brazil rejected the Argentine offer, and war began. Canning, thereupon, reminded the Argentine sharply that Great Britain, which had for two years labored on behalf of the Brazilian Empire, had a right to expect that the federation would at least respect the imperial form of government.⁵¹ Soon, however, Parish had to send home an alarming report of the situation, in view of the fact that an entirely new difficulty had arisen; namely, a revolt in the Banda under a party which aimed at independence from both Brazil and the Argentine.⁵² This report caused Canning to modify his original proposal, and to adopt a plan of mediation; and this plan, as modified in turn by Parish, played a decisive part in the outcome of the weary three years' war.

⁴⁹ P. R. O., 6-9, no. 77, Parish to Planta, December 18, 1825.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-8, no. 11, Canning to Parish, February 19, 1825. If this arrangement failed, Canning proposed to use his good offices to bring the dispute to arbitration at the approaching congress of Panamá.

⁵¹ P. R. O., 6-7, no. 16, Canning to Parish, November 3, 1825.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6-12, nos. 1 and 2, Canning to Pousonby, February 28, 1826.

Canning's plan aimed at following precedents in Belgium and on the Danube, and at making Montevideo a "free State", "like a Hansa town".⁵³ The Plata River would then become a neutral, international stream under British guarantee. This was Canning's mature plan; and to put it into effect, he sent out as first British minister to Buenos Aires Lord Ponsonby, a handsome, elderly nobleman, to serve the double purpose of impressing the Argentines, and of ridding the king of a rival in Lady Conyngham's eyes. By the time, however, that Ponsonby reached Buenos Aires, in September, 1826, the Argentine government had rejected the proposals which Canning had previously made; and the only thing left to go on with was a scarcely tenable suggestion which Ponsonby, on his way south, extracted from Emperor Dom Pedro as a basis upon which to keep negotiations going.⁵⁴

Parish, meanwhile, had come to the conclusion that the independence of the whole Banda offered the only really practical solution.⁵⁵ With this idea, Ponsonby, upon his arrival, seems very soon to have agreed, particularly in view of the fact that the war, if protracted, might become a republican crusade against the Brazilian Empire. The signs, indeed, of revolutionary sentiment in Brazil, which he had noticed at Rio, made him eager to bring the conflict to a close, before the emperor should have to face open revolt. In the hands of Parish and Ponsonby, therefore, Canning's proposals for a free city and a river guarantee were transformed into proposals for the erection of a new state with or without a river guarantee; and these were the proposals, as will be seen, which served as the actual basis for British diplomacy.⁵⁶

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ These Brazilian proposals were that Montevideo should be made a free port, and that, in return, for the relinquishment of the Banda by Buenos Aires to the Argentine, Brazil would recognize the federation and conclude a commercial treaty with it.

⁵⁵ P. R. O., 6-11, no. 37, Parish to Planta, August 3, 1826.

⁵⁶ Attention has not been hitherto drawn to this important responsibility of Ponsonby and Parish. That these proposals went far beyond anything which

But, while the two British diplomats threw all their energy into forwarding their scheme, the stubbornness of the Argentine government caused them for some time to determine to assume outwardly an attitude of "indifference and even resentment, as the best way in which a request for future mediation may be looked for".⁵⁷ This was also the best way in which to allay Forbes's suspicions of what he would naturally consider sinister British designs. Privately, however, both Ponsonby and Parish lost no time in going to work to bring about the situation which they desired. They began to discuss independence directly but unofficially with "the Banda people", to whom they found "it appeals much";⁵⁸ and they strove, at the same time, to keep this patriot party from calling in outside aid and from stirring up trouble in Brazil. Privately, also, they urged the advantages of their scheme upon the Argentine government. Soon Ponsonby, growing enthusiastic, wrote to Canning⁵⁹ that an independent Banda, with a British guarantee of navigation on the Plata, would secure to England a three-fold prize—the valuable products of the interior regions of Salta and Paraguay, which might be exported more cheaply from these regions than from similar regions in Brazil; a swift increase in British commerce generally throughout the Plata region, "on which everything depends"; and a chance for further British immigration to the Banda, where England already held so much land. In all the "indirect and private communication", therefore, which Ponsonby maintained with Lavalleja, the leader of the independent party in the Banda, Ponsonby's main aim was, not only to put an end as soon as possible to the war, but to bene-

Canning had considered is proved by the fact that, when later Rivadavia and García fell after trying to conclude a "peace at any price", Canning's comment was that the terms should have been satisfactory, for after all, the Banda could "achieve its freedom in peace time"—i.e., later. P. R. O., 6-15, no. 8, Canning to Ponsonby, August 8, 1827.

⁵⁷ P. R. O., 6-13, no. 5, Canning to Ponsonby, November 27, 1826.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-13, no. 18, Ponsonby to Canning, October, 1826.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-13, no. 23, Ponsonby to Canning, October 20, 1826.

fit British trade and prestige.⁶⁰ If, as he argued early in 1828, the Argentine were to succeed in reincorporating the Banda, then the whole of the Plata region might come under the influence of the United States, "under cloak of" the spread of

those mock patriotic principles which it is remembered have been carefully fostered, if they have not been generated, by the North Americans, a nation whose readiness to interfere and depress the interests of Great Britain can hardly be questioned by any one well acquainted with the character of these people.⁶¹

If, on the other hand, an independent state were created in the Banda, then British influence and British investments and future trade would be secure. The Plata could be considered a British river; and the rich, undeveloped, interior riparian regions,⁶² whose products were similar to those of Brazil but cheaper, and whose climate was suitable for British immigration and trade, could then be freely exploited. British influence, in a word, would become assuredly predominant throughout all the southern part of South America.

These aims and methods of British diplomacy did not escape Forbes's notice; and, as the war progressed, he began to fill his dispatches with bitter forebodings. According to him, Canning was using mediation simply as a cloak under cover of which to destroy the prestige of the United States on the Plata, and to violate the Monroe Doctrine in spirit, by establishing a veiled protectorate over the Banda. To make Montevideo, even, a free port was to exempt British vessels there from port charges and customs duties, he wrote, and this would simply throw the whole trade of the north bank of the Plata into British hands. Unless Montevideo were made a free port to all nations on equal terms, in fact, as

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-19, Separate, Ponsonby to Canning, December 20, 1827.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6-22, no. 6, Ponsonby to Canning, January 10, 1828.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 6-13, no. 23, Ponsonby to Canning, October 20, 1826.

well as in theory, it would become a British colony in disguise.⁶³

"My opinion", wrote Forbes somewhat later,⁶⁴

is still unaltered. The British have an occult wish to see this government [of the Argentine] so reduced and desponding and the Provinces of the Banda Oriental so disgusted by inglorious suffering as to consent to the cherished proposal of an independence guaranteed by Great Britain, or, in other words, a *Colony in disguise*.

The proposal to allow the Orientalists to achieve their independence seemed, moreover, all the more dangerous because it was possible of achievement. "The British", wrote Forbes,⁶⁵ quite rightly

count much on their influence in that province, derived from large acquisitions of real estate there, and the continued extension of their purchases. British Agents have gone within a few days to move this subject, and . . . I have reason to believe that intrigue will be employed. . . .

Forbes, therefore, closely watched the way in which the British mission supported the Banda leaders;⁶⁶ and was able to report that, "although the views of the British have not developed to the extent of the rumoured . . . military occupancy of Colonia" (a sea-port in the Banda territory), yet there was not a doubt but that such views were cherished and would discover themselves in the progress of events.

The Brazilians themselves do not more completely indulge in hopes of advantage from the penury and desperate state of things in this republic than the *mediative British*. . . . The greatest activity is now observed among their agents sooner to protract the war than to abandon their system.⁶⁷

⁶³ Manning, *Dip. Corr.*, I., part II, no. 309.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I., part II, no. 311.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I., part II, no. 313.

⁶⁶ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 3, nos. 42 and 45, October 25, 1826, and March 8, 1827.

⁶⁷ Manning, *Dip. Corr.*, I., part II, no. 314.

Later, when the idea of Uruguayan independence had gained more definite force, Forbes again argued⁶⁸ that,

if the friends of national independence prevail, it will be impossible to attempt such independence without the aid of some European Government, and under all circumstances, the only Government which will offer or accept such intervention will be England.

Still later, Forbes reported "a new proof of the sinister views of the British government" in its mediation diplomacy, namely, the existence of a petition praying for joint Anglo-French control over the Banda, a petition which the British mission, in order to neutralize French opposition, was having circulated among the independents in the Banda.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Forbes thought, British mediation had produced an apple of discord in the Argentine itself, by creating strife between the war party and the peace-at-any-price party.⁷⁰ He noted, therefore, with satisfaction, the outburst of hatred in the city against Ponsonby, when, in June 1827, García's weak peace terms, thought to have been inspired by the British minister, were published.⁷¹

García's peace negotiations came to naught, however, and the war dragged on. Buenos Aires was successful at sea, both in gallant fleet actions and in privateering; while on land its armies overran the Banda. But Montevideo, the key

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, part II, no. 315.

⁶⁹ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 3, no. 60, Forbes to Clay, July 9, 1828.

⁷⁰ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 3, no. 38, July 15, 1828, Forbes to Clay.

⁷¹ By 1827, the British traders had become extremely restless under the blockading and privateering measures of the belligerents; and it began to be rumored that England would occupy Montevideo and another seaport in the Banda, as security for a British loan to enable the Argentine government to purchase the Banda from Brazil. This idea, however, of purchase, which García embodied in his peace terms, succeeded only in arousing popular fury in the Argentine to such an extent that Rivadavia had to resign. Rivadavia then sought to cover his fall by accusing England of having favored Brazil by suggesting García's peace terms. The net result was that public opinion rose against England during the summer of 1827 to such an extent as to render Ponsonby's position almost dangerous.

to victory, remained in Brazil's possession, and the Brazilian blockade of Buenos Aires proved fairly effective. The result was a military and naval deadlock, and the prospect of a war of attrition. Foreign trade, meanwhile, had come to a standstill, both at Rio and at Buenos Aires; and, as a result, the finances of the two countries had been ruined. But neither country would give up the contest. The western world, as a consequence, became interested in either putting a stop to the war, or aiding one of the combatants. The congress of Panamá could, it is true, contribute nothing toward peace, since neither belligerent was represented in it; but Bolívar offered his aid to the Argentine, perhaps with the plan of forming a league of republics against the Brazilian Empire. Buenos Aires, however, fearing Bolívar's unfriendly intentions toward the federation itself, preferred rather to appeal to the United States for support, invoking the Monroe Doctrine, on the ground that Portugal was aiding Brazil. The prevailing feeling in the United States was in favor of the Argentine;⁷² but the government, true to its principle of not interfering in foreign disputes unless the Monroe Doctrine was vitally involved, refused to intervene or send aid.⁷³

Meanwhile, despite all these occurrences and hindrances, British diplomacy went its quiet way. Since it was certain that the Brazilian emperor, hating England, for its advocacy of Uruguayan independence, would concede nothing, and that Buenos Aires, although exhausted and living on paper money, would nevertheless refuse to treat on any moderate terms, the only way out lay in the achievement of independence in the Banda, by the single efforts of the nationalist party there. That this solution of the war prevailed was largely due to the diplomacy of the British mission, and to its knowledge of every movement and personality in the Argentine and in the

⁷² The attitude of public opinion in the United States so angered the Brazilian chargé that he addressed a note of protest to Clay; but the note was of so gross a tenor that Clay refused to read it.

⁷³ Clay's refusal did not, however, arrive until the war was nearly over.

Banda.⁷⁴ Sufficient emphasis has not yet been laid upon this example of skilful British diplomacy, although it illustrates one of the most striking ways in which British influence during the 1820's prevailed in Hispanic America. We have noticed how, early in the war, relations were opened between the British Mission and the Banda leaders. These relations, as Ponsonby's correspondence shows, were much strengthened and deepened by the informal personal connection which was developed between Ponsonby and Lavalleja, by means of an intermediary whom both parties trusted.⁷⁵ By advising Lavalleja to abstain from stirring up revolts on Brazilian soil, and by curbing his inclination—as was done with the Argentine government as well—to turn the war into a crusade against monarchy in America;⁷⁶ by counseling Lavalleja in the formation of an Uruguayan nationalist party,⁷⁷ and by persistently advising both Brazil and the Argentine to countenance the separatist movement,⁷⁸ the British diplomats finally brought about the one situation which both belligerents had to acknowledge as just and inevitable, namely, the triumph of the strong separatist movement in the Banda.⁷⁹ By 1828, indeed, the separatist movement had spread over the whole of the Banda, and the Uruguayans were strong enough to make good their claims.⁸⁰ Simultaneously, Ponsonby at last brought the Argentine government openly to declare itself in favor of the new state.⁸¹ Brazil then also gave its consent, just in time to save itself from a serious revolt instigated by Argentine agents.⁸² A draft of the preliminary peace terms

⁷⁴ P. R. O., 6-19, Ponsonby to Canning, October 15, 1827.

⁷⁵ P. R. O., 6-18, no. 38, July 20, 1827.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-19, no. 14, December 4, 1827.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 6-19, Confidential, December 15, 1827.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-19, no. 8, September 9, 1827.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-19, Secret, October 15, 1827.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-19, Separate, December 20, 1827.

⁸¹ December, 1827.

⁸² P. R. O., 6-22, no. 7, January 28, 1828; and no. 9, March 10, 1828 (enclosing a dispatch of Gordon (British minister at Rio) to Canning, February 24, 1828, and a private letter of June 22, 1827).

between the belligerents was at once sent to Lavalleja, so that he might lend it his full support—for to him, said Ponsonby, “we most owe our chances for a definite peace” free from anti-imperialist complications.⁸³ Much to the surprise of Forbes, who had just returned from a visit to Montevideo,⁸⁴ Lavalleja approved the terms. Ponsonby then succeeded in having the preliminary peace terms signed at Montevideo under Lavalleja’s eye. The result was that Lavalleja wrote to Ponsonby to express his “everlasting gratitude for British mediation”.⁸⁵ The Argentine government also thanked Ponsonby. There now remained for Ponsonby the difficult task of guiding the definite peace negotiations. In this task Parish played an agile part, and succeeded in bringing the negotiations to a close without impossible conditions being demanded by any one of the three parties at war.

When the treaty was finally signed, the task of the British mission was accomplished. We have noted the great opposition which the carrying out of this task had encountered in the Argentine and Brazil; and we have also noted how suspicious the United States minister was of the British intentions. It is interesting to record the final impressions made upon Forbes by the creation of Uruguay. Ponsonby reported that he naturally spoke strongly against the preliminary peace terms, by which, as he put it, Buenos Aires “sacrificed its honor”,⁸⁶ but his dislike of the terms, Ponsonby reported, arose principally from the fact that the profits of United States merchants would be seriously reduced by the withdrawal of the Brazilian blockade and the return of British shipping. A further point made by Forbes is valuable as giving an indication of the curious turn which events might have taken to the detriment of British interests, if the struggle had continued. The Brazilian emperor, he wrote,⁸⁷ hating

⁸³ P. R. O., 6-22, Ponsonby to Gordon, May 9, 1828.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-22, no. 10, April 4, 1828.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-22, no. 19, April 19, 1828.

⁸⁶ P. R. O., 6-22, no. 85, November 3, 1828.

⁸⁷ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 3, no. 60, July 9, 1828.

England, was preparing secretly to invoke the joint mediation of Colombia and the United States. "Ponsonby knows this secret fact", he added. As to the final peace, Forbes acknowledged it as "honorable and advantageous" to Buenos Aires.⁸⁸ He was content to think that the English in Buenos Aires "had made themselves obnoxious, by their tortuous and insincere mediation, to the dominant party in the city⁸⁹ . . . I anticipate very considerable advantages", he wrote.⁹⁰ and "I think the present a good time for me to make a treaty and to clear away invidious distinctions. . . . Guido, my friend of old, now Foreign Minister, is ready to negotiate".

It may be said, in fact, that Forbes's diplomacy during the war over the Banda, even if influenced by groundless fears of British designs, both guarded and increased the prestige of the United States in the Argentine from the low point at which it had been in 1825 to a level at which he could regard his work with satisfaction. The Argentine government knew that he had strongly sympathized,⁹¹ and that his countrymen had strongly sympathized with their claims to the Banda; and they knew that he had been prepared to further their plea for aid from the United States under the terms of the Monroe Doctrine. He had protested, also, from the first against the Brazilian paper blockade of the whole Argentine coast; and his protest, joined to that of the United States minister at Rio, had proved effective in mitigating the blockade for Buenos Aires.⁹² Argentine privateers had, moreover, found a warm welcome and were readily given supplies in United

⁸⁸ Manning, *Dip. Corr.*, I, part II, no. 318.

⁸⁹ U. S. Arch., Argentine, 3, no. 7, February 20, 1829.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 85, November 3, 1829. No treaty was, however, negotiated.

⁹¹ He could not "dissemble a lively sympathy in the fortunes of the Republican [*i.e.* Argentine] party": U. S. Arch., Argentine, 3, no. 40, September 5, 1826. "I regard this part of the world and its happiness as my own": no. 41, September 25, 1826. "This sentiment gains for me the friendship . . . of this government".

⁹² U. S. Arch., Argentine, 2, no. 30, Forbes to Clay, February 9, 1826. Forbes protested "on the principle of the instruction of 1820 on Lord Cochrane's blockade of the Pacific".

States ports. The result had been that, by reason of United States views of maritime law, and United States privateers flying Argentine flags, some small flow of foreign goods had reached Buenos Aires, and had eased the otherwise pitiable condition of the land. England, meanwhile, whom Forbes called "the mother of abuses" in maritime warfare, had had to keep silent, although British trade was the one to be worst hit, as British merchants soon discovered. By 1829, therefore, the prestige of the United States in the Argentine was at a satisfactory level. With the Banda as a free state, moreover, the most dangerous cause of Anglo-American rivalry in southern Hispanic America had disappeared. When, in the 1830's, United States trade with the Argentine, which now made its own flour, sank to a very modest level, Anglo-American commercial rivalry in the Argentine practically ceased.

Forbes may be considered only second to Parish as representing the type of diplomat who served his country exceedingly well in the midst of great international difficulties and in the depth of the murky atmosphere always created by Hispanic American politics. There is, on the other hand, no doubt but that the establishment of British commercial supremacy on the Plata, and the increase during the 1820's of British political influence in that region was owing almost entirely to Parish; for the severe Ponsonby, hindered by his rank often confessed that he was guided by Parish's diplomatic training and by his intimate knowledge of affairs in the Argentine and his friendships with leading Argentine politicians. While, therefore, the Brazilian emperor showed not the slightest gratitude to England for having literally saved his empire, the government of the Argentine, upon Parish's retirement from his post, gave him unique honors. Parish, indeed, had succeeded in the task in which Ward had failed in Mexico, of maintaining his country's prestige in Hispanic America without attempting to ruin the prestige of the United States. And he had done so in the midst of a war in which he had played the bold part of supporter of the creation of a

new state, without involving England in guarantees which other nations might consider as directed against them. Uruguay is, in fact, a lasting monument to Parish's good work in Hispanic America. By his discernment and discretion, the pretensions of Brazil, the stubbornness of Buenos Aires, and the suspicions of the United States all gave way to the spirit of Uruguayan independence which British diplomacy nursed. This sound territorial result secured the triumph of British prestige on the Plata—but not a triumph over United States prestige; for this triumph, not being directed against the United States, did not prove harmful to the course of later Anglo-American relations on the Plata.

This was the result of ten years of Anglo-American rivalry on the Plata; and this result, it may be affirmed, was one of which both countries might be proud, and one which the three Hispanic American states involved might also regard with deep satisfaction.

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CUBAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS CONCERNING THE ISLE OF PINES

On March 24, 1925, a treaty was proclaimed by which the United States relinquished, in favor of the Republic of Cuba, all claim of title to the Isle of Pines. This treaty had been awaiting ratification for over twenty years.

The status of the Isle of Pines began to cause trouble after the publication of the treaty of peace with Spain in 1898. Article I of that document stated: "Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba". Article II read: "Spain cedes to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladronez". Was the Isle of Pines included in the term "Cuba", or was it one of the "other islands" ceded to the United States by Spain? This was the real question settled by the treaty of 1925, although it was often obscured, in discussions, by other considerations.

Those who were anxious to see the island firmly established under Cuban rule, and these were not only Cubans but some Americans as well, advanced many arguments for such an arrangement, all of which were used during the debates in the United States senate when the treaty was discussed. If the term "Cuba" included the disputed island, there were still reasons, they declared, for the "other islands" clause. Mona, Vieques, and Culebra, which were part of the cession to the United States, are islands distinct from Porto Rico, and do not constitute a part of the chain of islands surrounding the island of Cuba, which was considered a part of that territory. They also claimed that there was every reason to suppose that the political term "Cuba" included the Isle of Pines as well as about thirteen hundred other islands and keys—never

claimed by the United States—which surround the main island.

The evidence advanced for this supposition is threefold, and involves geography, historical precedent, and an accepted principle of international law.

There are in the Library of Congress at Washington about one hundred maps and charts which show the Isle of Pines as belonging politically or geographically to the entity "Cuba". The maps represent all epochs since the discovery of America, and comprise public and private issues of a number of countries, among which are Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States. Two maps by the United States do not so designate the Isle, but they will be discussed in another connection. However, it would seem that the little island was always considered a part of Cuba, geographically speaking.

The history of Cuba was cited to show that Spain had treated the island as Cuban territory during the four hundred years of Spanish rule over it.

In 1511, Cuba and the adjacent islands were subdued and colonized by Diego Velasquez, who became the first lieutenant governor. The colony grew in importance and was made a captaincy general, independent of Santo Domingo, in 1581. Pirate raids discouraged colonization of the Isle of Pines until the early part of the eighteenth century; but by 1765 Count Ricla, captain general of Cuba, considered it sufficiently important to be made a political division of Cuba, and to have an officer to preserve order. A few years later it first paid taxes to Havana. A royal decree of 1828 established the Isle of Pines as "Colonia Reina Amalia", but it was still subject to Havana, and was the object of decrees of the captain general of Cuba. Throughout the repeated reorganizations of Cuba, the island remained under the jurisdiction of the province of Havana, or one of its subdivisions, and was so administered in all phases of its activity. Every official census of Cuba included the Isle of Pines, and, when it became popu-

lated, it took part, as a division of Havana province, in every Cuban election.¹

This treatment of the Isle of Pines by Spanish colonial officials was in harmony with a recognized principle of international law. This principle is set forth in William Edward Hall's *Treatise on International Law* (4th edition, London, 1895), as follows:

The territorial property of a State consists in the territory occupied by the State community and subjected to its sovereignty, and it comprises the whole area, whether of land or water, included within the definite boundaries ascertained by occupation, prescription, or treaty, together with such inhabited or uninhabited lands as are considered to have become attendant on the ascertained territory through occupation or accretion, and, when such area abuts upon the sea, together with a certain margin of water. (P. 106.)

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Apart from questions connected with the extent of territorial waters, . . . certain physical peculiarities of coasts in various parts of the world, where land impinges on the sea in an unusual manner, require to be noticed as affecting the territorial boundary. Off the coast of Florida, among the Bahamas, along the shores of Cuba, and in the Pacific, are to be found groups of numerous islands and islets rising out of vast banks, which are covered with very shoal water, and either form a line more or less parallel with the land or compose systems of their own, in both cases enclosing considerable sheets of water, which are sometimes also shoal and sometimes relatively deep. The entrance to these interior bays or lagoons may be wide in breadth of surface water, but it is narrow in navigable water. To take a specific case, on the south coast of Cuba the Archipiélago de los Canarios stretches from sixty to eighty miles from the mainland to La Isla de Pinos, its length from the Jardines bank to Cape Frances is over a hundred miles. It is enclosed partly by some islands, mainly by banks, which are always awash, but upon which, as the tides are very slight, the depth of water is at no time sufficient to permit of navigation; spaces along these banks, many miles in length, are unbroken by a single inlet; the water is uninterrupted, but access to the interior gulf or sea is impossible. At the western end there

¹ *The Title of the Republic of Cuba to the Isle of Pines* (Washington, D. C., 1924), pp. 15-23.

is a strait, twenty miles or so in width, but not more than six miles of channel intervene between the two banks which rise to within seven or eight feet from the surface, and which do not consequently admit of the passage of sea-going vessels. In cases of this sort the question whether the interior waters are, or are not, lakes enclosed within the territory, must always depend upon the depth upon the banks, and the width of the entrances. Each must be judged upon its own merits. But in the instance cited, there can be little doubt that the whole Archipiélago de los Canarios is a mere salt-water lake, and that the boundary of the land of Cuba runs along the exterior edge of the banks. (Pp. 129-130.)

The supporters of Cuban sovereignty over the island argued, also, that the term "Cuba" was used in its larger sense at the peace conference of 1898. In view of the treatment of the Isle by Spain, no other attitude, they declared, could have been taken by the Spanish commissioners. Evidence was also brought forth to show that such was the attitude of the United States. Article IV of the protocol of the treaty of Paris of 1898 provides for the separate evacuation of two territories described, in strict geographical terms, as "Cuba and the adjacent Spanish islands", and "Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies". This being true, the United States could not, in honor, do other than relinquish all claim to the Isle of Pines, for the country went to war with Spain under a joint resolution for securing the independence of the people of Cuba, and the withdrawal of Spanish forces from Cuba and Cuban waters; and the United States proclaimed its intention, in this resolution, of withdrawing from Cuba when its pacification was assured.²

The reports of the peace conference of 1898 are, however, contradictory regarding the Isle of Pines. The Marquis of Villa-Urrutia, one of the Spanish commissioners to that conference, declared in a letter of May 6, 1924, to the Cuban minister to Spain, that he did not recall any specific mention

² *United States Reports; Supreme Court* (New York, 1907), CCV. 265-266.

of the island at the conference, and that the Spanish files of the conference contained no reference to it.³ On the other hand, there is to be found in the *Congressional Record* an affidavit, quoted in full, of Henry A. Castle of St. Paul, Minnesota, dated December 12, 1908, which states that Cushman K. Davis, an American commissioner to the conference, had said that he was reconciled to the payment of twenty million dollars for the Philippine Islands since the United States would get title to the Isle of Pines, which would be of value as a naval base. There is also to be found, a quotation from the minority report of Senators Morgan and Clark, made in 1906, which is unfavorable to the treaty of 1925, to the effect that William P. Frye, a commissioner to the peace conference of 1898, had told the senate committee on foreign relations that the commissioners to the conference regarded the Isle as a part of the cession to the United States.⁴ There appears to be no other proof of these contentions. Nor can any proof be found to support the statement of the Spanish commissioners, quoted by Senator Willis from the annex to the ninth protocol of the treaty of Paris of 1898, that:

They [the United States] did claim the sovereignty of the latter island [Porto Rico] and of the others surrounding Cuba, (which will render impossible its independence without the will and gracious consent of the United States, which will always have it at their mercy owing to their control over the islands surrounding it like a band of iron).⁵

Whatever the commissioners to the conference thought they had done regarding the Isle of Pines, the United States military forces, when they took possession of Cuba following the ratification of the treaty of peace, for the purpose of restoring order, did not materially disturb the existing political

³ *Statements and Documents relative to the Isle of Pines Treaty between the United States and Cuba* (Havana, Cuba, 1925), p. 51.

⁴ *Congressional Record* (Washington, D. C., 1873-), LXVII, part I, p. 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LXVII, part I, pp. 120-121.

organization. On August 17, 1899, President McKinley ordered a census of Cuba, and the report of this census, made in 1900, stated that:

The government of Cuba has jurisdiction not only over the island of that name, but also over the Isle of Pines, lying directly to the south of it, more than a thousand islets and reefs scattered along its northern and southern coasts.⁶

The election order of June, 1899, did not include the Isle of Pines, and hence it was said that the officers elected for the island at that time held their offices directly under the United States.⁷ But the order of General Wood for dividing Cuba into electoral districts, which preceded the establishment of self-government, and which was approved by the war department, placed the Isle of Pines in the third circuit of the province of Havana. All other arrangements of the military government treated the Isle of Pines as a part of Cuba.⁸

During the United States occupation of Cuba, Americans began to settle on the Isle of Pines, which, although somewhat inaccessible, presents certain attractions. It has long been known as a resort for persons in ill health because of the mild, even climate; the land is fertile and well-watered; the ridges contain mineral deposits of considerable value.

Some of the settlers thought the island might become United States territory. There were reasons for this in addition to the somewhat ambiguous wording of the treaty of Paris of 1898. Maps of the United States and its possessions, published by the department of the interior in 1899 and 1902, designated the Isle of Pines as a possession of the United States. Binger Hermann, who, at that time, was United States land commissioner, declared, in an affidavit dated September 7, 1916, that, on August 14, 1899, he had been

⁶ *Isle of Pines; Papers relating to the Adjustment of Title to the Ownership of the Isle of Pines* (Washington, D. C., 1924), p. 37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

given instructions so to designate the island by President McKinley.⁹ According to a letter of W. A. Richards of the department of the interior, which is included in Senator Foraker's report on the treaty of 1925 made to the senate in 1906, there exists in the files of that department no written evidence of these instructions.¹⁰ It was only three days later, on August 17, 1899, that President McKinley gave instructions for the census of Cuba, in which the Isle of Pines was to be included.

In addition to the two maps, were letters, in answer to inquiries by Americans, written by Assistant Secretary of War Meiklejohn and Assistant Adjutant General John J. Pershing, which stated that the island had been ceded to the United States, but that disposition of the public lands must await action by congress.¹¹ But this view was maintained only from August 14, 1899, to February 16, 1900, after which the war department took the position that it was not competent to decide. The change of attitude resulted from the receipt of an undated letter by Charles Edward Magoon, law officer of the bureau of insular affairs, whose business it was to investigate the question of the relations of our then new possessions to our laws and constitution, and especially whether our laws should become effective in the new territory automatically upon their acquisition.¹² He held that they did not, and this became the fixed policy of the United States in dealing with new territory.¹³

The uncertainty regarding the status of the island was increased by the Platt amendment to the army appropriation bill of 1901, which was made a part of the constitution of the Republic of Cuba. Article VI of the amendment provided that

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, LXVII., part I, p. 123.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI., part III, p. 2320.

¹² *Statements and Documents*, p. 15; *Isle of Pines: Papers*, pp. 74-75, 78-80.

¹³ *National Encyclopedia of American Biography* (22 Vols., New York, 1910), XIV., 32.

The Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba; the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

The author of it said, in a letter to Senator Clapp, dated November 5, 1902, that he thought the island should come to the United States because of its strategic position in regard to the Isthmian Canal. He wanted the title to be the subject of treaty negotiations by which either Cuba would be convinced that it came to the United States by cession, or the land would be secured by purchase.¹⁴ On the other hand, Gonzalo de Quesada, a member of the Cuban constitutional convention, and later minister to the United States, expressed the belief, in an article entitled "Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines", and published in the *North American Review* for November, 1909, that the provision was included because of opposition by Cubans to the lease of naval stations in Cuba. Some Americans thought that it could be used as such a station, or be made the basis of negotiation for such sites.

On February 16, 1903, the senate requested the president for information concerning the status of the island. President Roosevelt submitted a report by Secretary of War Elihu Root, with an endorsement by General Wood, formerly military governor of Cuba, which stated that the island was being governed by duly elected officers holding under the general control of Cuba, pending action to determine its ultimate disposition. Americans on the island were, he said, living under the same terms as other foreigners and would need no special protection if they complied with the laws. They were said to be fully informed of the status of the Isle of Pines.¹⁵

To decide the question, treaties were negotiated in 1903 and 1904. One of these, made in 1903 and speedily ratified, was the lease of the naval stations of Guantánamo and Bahía

¹⁴ M. E. Clapp, "Have We Mislaid a valuable Possession?" in *The North American Review*, CXG. 334.

¹⁵ *The Report of the President concerning the present Status of the Isle of Pines* (Washington, D. C., 1903), p. 2.

Honda. Another, made in the same year, gave up the claims of the United States to the Isle of Pines, in consideration for the grant of naval stations, but it lapsed because it was not ratified within the time specified. In 1904, John Hay and Gonzalo de Quesada negotiated another treaty to take the place of the one which lapsed. By it the United States, in consideration for the grant of stations, relinquished all claim of title to the Isle of Pines which might be made by virtue of Articles I and II of the treaty of Paris of 1898. Another provision gave protection to citizens of the United States in their property rights in the island; they were placed on a footing with other foreigners.¹⁶

On February 1, 1906, Senator Foraker submitted to the senate an exhaustive report favorable to the treaty, and Senators Morgan and Clark submitted a minority report opposing ratification. The senate was reluctant to discuss the treaty; and Senator Morgan's resolution to investigate the situation in the Isle of Pines was, on June 8, 1906, laid on the table and never taken up.

A statement, significant as an expression of official opinion about this time, was made by Secretary of War Elihu Root in November, 1905. In a letter to the president of the American Club, Isle of Pines, he said that the treaty, then pending in the senate, would give Cuba a clear title to the island, to which the United States had no real claim. The United States, he added, would never try to force Cuba to relinquish its title, which that nation would never think of doing.¹⁷

In April, 1907, the supreme court gave a decision bearing on the situation, which had not yet been settled. The plaintiff in this case brought suit in the circuit court of the United States for the southern district of New York against the collector of the port of New York to recover the value of cigars which the latter had seized, and which had been brought to New

¹⁶ *Treaty between the United States and Cuba for the Adjustment of Title to the Ownership of the Isle of Pines* (Washington, D. C., 1925), pp. 1-2.

¹⁷ *Isle of Pines: Papers*, p. 4.

York from the Isle of Pines, where they had been made. This seizure was made under the Dingley tariff and the regulations of the treasury department under it. The tariff provided for the imposition of duties on articles coming into the United States from foreign countries, and the plaintiff declared that the Isle of Pines was in the possession of the United States, and therefore was not foreign territory. The complaint was dismissed, but the case came to the supreme court on a writ of error. The final decision in this case of *Pearcy versus Stranahan* was in essence: That the island was rightfully under the *de facto* control of Cuba; that the United States had never taken that possession in law and in fact necessary to render it domestic; and that, therefore, it was to be considered foreign territory within the meaning of the Dingley act. This decision was not at all pleasing to fruit growers on the Isle of Pines who could not reap the benefits from having no duties imposed.¹⁸ After this decision the Isle of Pines dropped from official discussions.

Turning now to the question of United States interests in the island, we find that in 1899 there were only fifteen inhabitants of that island of other than Spanish or Cuban parentage. In January, 1903, there were three hundred American settlers and two hundred non-resident investors.¹⁹ The big expansion of United States interests in the Isle of Pines took place after United States ownership had been virtually renounced, until, in January, 1923, Charles Evans Hughes, secretary of state, reported that about ten thousand Americans owned property there. About seven hundred were permanent residents, and the holdings were estimated to be worth about \$21,500,000, but a telegram from Major General Crowder reduced this estimate to about \$15,000,000.²⁰

These investors used their influence, from the time the

¹⁸ "Disputing the Isle of Pines", in *Current Opinion*, LXXVI, 269.

¹⁹ *Statements and Documents*, p. 30.

²⁰ *American Property Interests in the Isle of Pines* (Washington, D. C., 1923), pp. 1-2.

Platt amendment was passed, to prevent Cuban control from becoming permanent. They sent petitions in which they claimed that they had settled in the island and invested their money there under assurances that the island would be United States territory. They said that conditions were very unsatisfactory, and that they were unfairly taxed and could not secure justice because of Cuban jealousy and incompetence. It was doubtless the influence of these capitalists which kept the Isle of Pines Treaty from being ratified for so long a period.

On December 11, 1922, and again on February 15, 1924, because of administrative promptings, Senator Lodge, chairman of the senate committee on foreign relations, reported favorably to the senate on the treaty which had been negotiated in 1904. In June, 1924, consideration of the treaty was postponed until December 10, 1924.²¹ It was finally discussed for some time in January, 1925, but it was not until the special session of the senate of that year that a decision was reached.

The senators who opposed giving up the island, and they were in the minority, did so chiefly on the ground that it would be defrauding Americans who were compelled to live there under adverse conditions, after settling there in the belief that it would become United States territory.²² Senator Willis opposed the treaty on the grounds that it did not give sufficient protection to Americans. Senator Copeland expressed the view that Cuba should give up the island as payment for the Cuban unpaid debt of \$20,000,000 for the United States intervention of 1906. The value of the island, he said, was enough to reimburse the United States for those expenses. The need for a naval station to protect the Isthmian Canal, and general United States interests in the Caribbean, was urged by Senators Willis and Copeland, and Sigüeneá Bay, on the island, was held to be an excellent site for a naval base.²³ In the report of Senators Morgan and Clark, made in

²¹ *Isle of Pines: Papers*, p. 317.

²² *Congressional Record*, LXVII, part I, p. 118.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 172.

1906, it was argued that the island need not be given up in consideration for the grant of coaling and naval stations, for the United States had contracted to pay an annual rental of \$2,000 for the sites which had been leased.²⁴

Legal arguments, also, were urged against ratification. According to Senator Shipstead the legal questions involved were: 1. Is the title to the island vested in the government of the United States? 2. If the title is so vested, but should go to Cuba, is treaty the proper method of transfer?²⁵ The report of Senators Morgan and Clark answered these questions in a way which would have caused the treaty to fail had their contention been upheld by the majority of the senators. The report stated that the title must now be vested in the United States. Before 1898, it had rested with Spain which, for convenience, had governed it through Cuba. The word "Cuba" had been used in its strictly geographical sense at the peace conference with Spain, and, therefore, the title to the island had come to the United States by cession. Had Cuba been left any claim, its rights had been extinguished by the Platt amendment. In excluding the island from Cuba's territory it must have been left either with Spain or with the United States. Under the circumstances only the latter alternative was possible. Granting that the island should go to Cuba, it was argued that cession by treaty was not the proper method. The treaty-making power, so Senator Morgan and Senator Clark declared, does not include the right to dispose of United States territory, which right is given to congress in Article IV, Section 3 of the constitution of the United States.²⁶

These arguments did not prevail over those favoring the treaty. All presidents from Roosevelt to Coolidge, and the secretaries of state for the same period favored ratification.²⁷ The supreme court placed itself on this side of the question

²⁴ *Isle of Pines: Papers*, p. 230.

²⁵ *Congressional Record*, LXVII., part I, p. 179.

²⁶ *Isle of Pines: Papers*, pp. 233-235.

²⁷ "Americans now under Cuban Rule", in *The Literary Digest*, LXXXV., 16.

by its decision in the case of *Pearcy versus Stranahan*, already referred to, in which it declared that everyone knew the island to be an integral part of Cuba.

Senator Foraker's report, which contained most of the arguments urged by the senators favoring the treaty, showed that the Cuban constitution gave ample protection to the property of foreigners, and that, in any case, Americans had had sufficient opportunity to learn the undetermined status of the island, and were probably more misled by advertisements than by the government.²⁸ It was pointed out that the island was not particularly necessary as a naval base since the United States was in possession of naval stations in that region; and Senator Foraker declared that in view of the agreement to relinquish claim to the island in consideration for the grant of Guantánamo and Bahía Honda, the United States was morally bound to do so, and that delay might be considered a sufficient reason for revoking the grants.²⁹

Those favoring the treaty said little on the subject during the final debates, but they expressed the view that the island was practically worthless from a strategic point of view, and their opponents felt it necessary to make an elaborate refutation of the statement. In an article in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* for October, 1924, Captain Elbridge Colby, U. S. A., quoted Admiral Mahan as his authority for a statement that the Isle of Pines lost its strategic value when the United States extended its interests from the Gulf of Mexico to the entire Caribbean Sea, thus making special guarding of the Yucatan Channel unnecessary. This view most senators agreed with, and it probably was an important factor in swinging their votes in favor of the treaty.

Coming to the question of the validity of claims, Senator Foraker showed that both Spain and the United States had treated the Isle of Pines as a part of Cuba, and he further indicated that errors made by officials could not be construed

²⁸ *Isle of Pines: Papers*, pp. 40-41, 52.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

as giving basis for a real claim to territory.³⁰ The legality of relinquishing claim by means of a treaty was unheld by Senator Walsh, who gave it as his belief that the treaty-making power is not limited in any matter which is a proper subject for negotiation between nations.³¹

It was also argued, by Senator Wadsworth, that if the question were submitted to a court of arbitration, the United States could not expect to be awarded the island, in view of the opinions of high officials and the decision of the supreme court in the case of *Pearcy versus Stranahan*. Nor could it be expected that Cuba would ever give up the island, and forcible annexation would bring down the wrath of Europe and Hispanic-America on the head of a manifestly imperialistic United States. Senator McCormick urged ratification for the sake of the Hispanic-American friendship which was essential for business and diplomatic relations with those countries.³²

The Hay-Quesada treaty was finally ratified on March 13, 1925, by a vote of sixty-three to fourteen, nineteen not voting, but not before two resolutions were added, which were promptly accepted by Cuba. These stated:

1. That all the provisions of existing and future treaties, including the Permanent Treaty proclaimed July 2, 1904, between the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba shall apply to the territory and inhabitants of the Isle of Pines. 2. The term "other foreigners" appearing at the end of Article III shall be construed to mean foreigners who receive the most favorable treatment under the Government of Cuba.³³

The permanent treaty of 1904 was that treaty the terms of which are the articles of the Platt amendment.

The act of the senate made no material difference in the affairs of the island, which simply remained under Cuba's

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

³¹ *Congressional Record*, LXVII., part I, pp. 194-195.

³² *Ibid.*, LXVII., part I, p. 139; LXVI., part 2, p. 2020.

³³ *Treaty between the United States and Cuba*, p. 4.

control. The question so tardily decided was not of great importance, but it deserves to be noted as a case in which justice was done, for only disappointed investors could find fault with the settlement. More such justice, whatever would seem to be the immediate cost, would go far to render more cordial relations between nations.

JANET DELAVAN FROST.

Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Formação Histórica do Brasil. By JOAO PANDIÁ CALOGÉRAS. (Rio de Janeiro: Pimenta de Mello & C., 1930. Pp. 522.)

The appearance of this work constitutes a landmark in the progress of Brazilian historiography. It is the first successful attempt to encompass within a single volume the history of Brazil from its discovery down to the present day. To those initiated into South American history and diplomacy the author is no stranger. During the past quarter century he has played a dynamic and constructive part in the political and economic life of the Brazilian Republic both as a member of congress and cabinet minister. In the latter capacity he has been entrusted at various times with the portfolios of agriculture, finance, and war. But in the midst of these and other arduous public duties he has found time to write at length on the financial and diplomatic history of Brazil. His monograph, *La Politique Monétaire du Brésil*, though published in 1910, is still the classic work on the subject of which it treats. His voluminous *Politica Exterior do Imperio*, of which two volumes have appeared, seems destined to be the outstanding authority on the foreign relations of the empire. The number of his articles and printed addresses is legion.

The work under review is a production of a different character. In 1928, the venerable Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro had the happy inspiration of establishing under its auspices the *Escola de Estudos Brasileiros* for the purpose of extending among foreigners a knowledge of the achievements of Portuguese America. The new institution was especially designed to cater to the needs of North Americans attending the summer school held in Rio de Janeiro in 1929. Dr. Calogéras was entrusted with the course on Brazilian History. His lectures delivered in English formed the basis of the present work.

In the development of his subject the writer set up two criteria from which he never departed, namely, comprehensiveness of treatment and clarity of presentation. From the pedagogical point of view the work is admirable. Throughout it is well-balanced, clear, and incisive. Of the sixteen chapters three deal with the period of discovery

and colonization, four with the reigns of Dom João VI. and Dom Pedro and with the regency, six with the period of Dom Pedro II., and three (100 pages) with the republic. The story ends with the administration of Washington Luis. The chief novelty of the work consists in the fulness with which the period subsequent to 1840 is treated.

Dr. Calogéras's admiration for the emperor does not blind him to the shortcoming of his policy toward the Platine republics or his mistakes in the internal administration of the empire. Especially noteworthy is the author's treatment of the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation movement. The highly involved but important conflict between the empire and the church is carefully analyzed. When he comes to deal with the republic, Dr. Calogéras does not hesitate to grapple with the most thorny questions of recent history or to appraise the rôle of political leaders whose actions still give rise to passionate controversy. It requires an exceptional serenity of judgment to accord the proper meed of praise or blame to such disparate characters as Deodoro da Fonseca, the founder of the republic; Baron Lucena, the *âme damnée* of the first president; Floriano Peixoto, who ruthlessly crushed the naval revolt of 1893; Prudente de Moraes Barros, the first civilian president; Pinheiro Machado, the arch *caudilho* of Brazilian history. While Dr. Calogéras's appreciations of such men will not commend themselves to all critics, his good faith and sincerity are beyond cavil. His book, in short, is a model of its kind and deserves to be translated into English. Its usefulness is further enhanced by the addition of a bibliography and a carefully prepared index.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Res Nostra. By JOAO PANDIÁ CALOGÉRAS. (São Paulo: Estabelecimento Graphico Irmãos Ferras, 1930. Pp. 292.)

On the occasion of the publication of his *Formação histórica do Brasil*, discussed in the preceding review, a group of Dr. Calogéras's friends conceived the idea of collecting a number of his writings scattered through newspapers, periodicals, and the reports of learned societies. The present work, comprising some thirty-five topics, was the result. As was inevitable some of the items are ephemeral in character. Others, chiefly essays and addresses, possess enduring

value. Obviously only a few can be noted here. "Capistrano de Abreu", written on the death in 1927 of this eminent historian, reveals a deep understanding of both the man and the writer. "Tobias Monteiro: *Historia do Imperio*" is an illuminating critique of one of the most important recent works on the imperial period. In "Frei Vital" the writer describes the tragic conflict between the church and the empire as revealed in the career of the chief protagonist. Under the title of "Osorio" Dr. Calogéras throws into relief one of the great military figures of the reign of Dom Pedro II. In "Rio Branco e Politica Exterior" is set forth the achievement of the most illustrious foreign ministers of the Brazilian Republic. A long article, "O Brasil e a Sociedade das Nações", explains the causes for Brazil's withdrawal from the assembly at Geneva. Most of the remaining titles deal with financial and economic subjects. This is a work, in fine, all but indispensable to those genuinely interested in the more recent aspects of Brazil's national evolution.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Narciso López y su Época. By HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ, Vol. I. [II. and III. in course of preparation]. (La Habana: Cultural, S. A., 1930. Pp. 316, [2]. \$3.00.

Cuba has little reason to be proud of its twentieth century political figures, with few exceptions, but now and then an intellectual product of great merit makes its appearance to remind the outside world that back of the rotten political façade of the Cuban edifice there is an interior of solid, substantial worth. An example of this is Portell Vilá's first volume of his *Narciso López y su Época*. Two more volumes, already partially completed, are yet to be published. The author, a pupil and protégé of the distinguished Cuban intellectual and patriot, Fernando Ortiz, is a young man who until recently occupied the chair of Cuban history at the University of Havana. To the life of Narciso López he has given years of study, and has had the advantage of access to materials which have not heretofore been utilized in printed accounts concerning López. It is Portell Vilá's contention that López distinctly belongs in the category of Cuban heroes and patriots, as something more than a vulgar filibusterer and proponent of annexation to the United States. Indeed, Portell Vilá claims that

López really stood for independence, not annexation. It cannot be said that Portell Vilá has fully established his case on this particular point in the volume under review, although the negative evidence to that effect is worthy of consideration, but there may be something further about this in the forthcoming two volumes. With Portell Vilá's general thesis, however, this reviewer is entirely in sympathy; elsewhere the reviewer has expressed his belief that the López expeditions should be considered as of more importance than as a mere episode in Cuban affairs, and this volume amply justifies that view.

In volume one, Portell Vilá tells of the youth of López in Venezuela, his service in the Spanish army in Venezuela, Cuba, and Spain, and of his early plots in Cuba for the separation of that island from Spain. Volume one closes with the escape of López, following the discovery of his "conspiracy of the Rosa Cubana mine" in 1848.

In all technical respects this volume is a high example of scholarship. Statements of fact are cited to their sources in numerous footnotes. And, as is natural in such a thorough study, the book abounds in detail. By way of example may be mentioned the story of the unfriendliness between López and the "great Saco", which looms important, as Saco's characterizations of López as an annexationist have in some measure been responsible for the lack of credit given to this mid-nineteenth century Cuban hero.

In fine, this book is a splendid Cuban achievement, and places its author in the forefront not only among Cuban intellectuals, but also in the field of Hispanic American scholarship.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California, Berkeley.

Mexico and her Foreign Creditors. By EDGAR TURLINGTON. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. 449. \$6.00.)

This is a convenient and fairly accurate survey of the foreign loans of Mexico from the beginning of its independence to July, 1930. The work is introduced by an illuminating chapter dealing with "The Mexican Debt as an International Problem". Eight other chapters of a historical nature follow, the entire narrative covering 341 pages. The remainder of the volume consists of appendices dealing with loan contracts and agreements with the bankers.

The attitude of the author is somewhat conservative. He believes

that on the whole the bankers have not been severe in their exactions, if the risk involved in the Mexican loans is taken into account. He also states the view that the distinction between contract claims and damage claims is gradually being obliterated in the formulation of the foreign policies of the great powers.

On the whole an excellent work, the volume has three defects: (1) Turlington fails to give adequate attention to the procedure of The Hague Conference of 1907 with reference to claims; (2) he fails to take due note of the difference between the price at which the bonds were purchased by the bankers and the sales price of the bonds to the public; (3) he did not examine the British and French archives for pertinent materials on the subject, although he did search the archives in the State Department at Washington. The reviewer's limited experience with the Public Record Office of the Foreign Office in London convinces him that much light might have been thrown on the subject by an examination of the materials located in that great repository. Since Mexico borrowed most of its money from British bankers, the neglect of these sources was a serious omission. A rich reward awaits the scholar who will take the trouble to read the mass of English manuscripts bearing on the subject of British loans to Mexico. Until this is done, the story cannot be accepted as complete or even as entirely accurate. To cite only two instances, the materials in the Record Office would reflect considerable light upon the relation of the Mexican foreign debt to the negotiations of John Forsyth and Thomas Corwin. A hint of their value in this connection is given in the reviewer's *United States and Mexico* as well as in his *Latin America in World Politics*.

Despite these defects, however, Mr. Turlington's volume is of great value to the student of finance and diplomacy. Together with the two other volumes now in process under the direction of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, it will constitute a welcome source of information on the subject of "Mexico in International Finance and Diplomacy".

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

The Genius of Mexico. Lectures Delivered before the Fifth Seminar in Mexico, 1930. Edited by Hubert C. Herring and Katherine Terrill. (New York: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 1931. Pp. 334. \$3.00.)

"The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America seeks the increase of understanding and appreciation between the peoples of the Americas. It works for the creation of a public sentiment in the United States sensitive to the moving forces in Latin America and concerned with the furthering of relations of mutual respect and friendship. Its program is concentrated on the leaders of public opinion through the annual Seminars in Mexico and the Caribbean. Its members are united in the belief that there are no more important aspects of our international relations than those which have to do with the republics of Latin America." Hitherto the lectures delivered before the Seminar have not been printed, although mimeographed copies of them have been circulated among the members of the Seminar.

The present volume presents the views of a galaxy of leaders, Mexicans and citizens of the United States. Many of them will be recognized at once by the intelligent reader; others will not; and the less informed reader will hardly know any of them. For this reason, the brief biographical note which introduces each contribution will be welcomed, although more information regarding contributors would not have been superfluous.

Eleven topics are covered in a semi-popular fashion and usually both sides of each question are discussed. The main topics are: The Genius of Mexican Life; The Indian Heritage; The Art of the Indian; Education in Mexico; Religious Forces; Economic Problems; The Agrarian and Labor Situation; Social Problems; Migration; State and Federal Government in Mexico; and Relations between the United States and Mexico.

On the whole, it would appear that the picture is too bright: Mexico is somewhat idealized. Yet the reviewer believes that the effect, when superimposed upon the somewhat unappreciative view of Mexico held by the majority of the people in the United States, will be salutary. If Mexican civilization is not quite so roseate as presented in this volume, neither is it so defective as usually represented in the press of the United States.

The Committee on Cultural Relations is to be congratulated upon its work. Diplomats and merchants have long had contacts with Mexico and the impression which they have left has not been wholly fortunate. Intellectual and cultural contacts are a welcome addition. There are Yankees and Yankees—and there are Mexicans and Mexicans: scholars and artists as well as politicians and soldiers. It is probable that Yankees and Mexicans will like each other more when they know each other better. At any rate, friendship and coöperation never thrive on ignorance. And besides, Mexico will find its best assurance of justice and fair dealing in an enlightened public opinion in the United States.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

Trailing the Conquistadores. By SAMUEL GUY INMAN. (New York: Friendship Press, [c 1930]. Pp. 236.)

To the reader interested in history, Dr. Inman's little book will supply vivid impressions of the romantic yet true story of the Caribbean; the reader who delights in accounts of travel here will find his cravings satisfied with charming pictures of life in West Indian lands. Dr. Inman has however written neither a history nor a travel book, but has woven together much history and description of scenes and people with an effective lesson and a warning.

The author tells of the romantic lives of the Spanish conquistadores in the Caribbean; of the deeds of daring and violence committed by the English, French, and Dutch buccaneers and pirates who infested that region during the XVII. and XVIII. centuries; and of the control which the United States has recently extended over Cuba, Porto Rico, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. In the telling of this history, Dr. Inman shows how the present-day American is following directly in the trail of the conquistadores. The conquistadores oppressed the Indians for gold and glory, although their declared motive was the spreading of the gospel; the pirates and buccaneers robbed the Spaniards of their wealth, drove them out, and filled the islands with Negro slaves, doing it all for hatred of the papacy and the glory of God; the pretext of the United States for intervention is Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and the duty of bearing the "white man's burden"; but the real reason is economic plunder just as it always

has been. The American business men are trailing the buccaneers who in turn were trailing the conquistadores.

The author then goes on to clinch his argument with an array of facts relating to the recent history of each country, showing that "Santo Domingo, Cuba, Haiti, and Porto Rico represent four different kinds of relationships to the most powerful country on the continent" and that "these tropical lands are being exploited by capitalists and investors". A chapter is then devoted to each of these countries in which is described and explained the results of this exploitation. Credit, however, is given wherever due to United States officers and to American Protestant missionaries, physicians, and social workers for the improvement in sanitation, health, and morals which they have introduced.

In the final chapter Dr. Inman warns that the inevitable result of political and economic intervention will be to destroy the culture and psychological outlook of these peoples. "The greatest danger facing the Caribbean is that the people shall be robbed of the best they have—love of beauty, of poetry, or idealism, of contentedness—and given in return only a desire for material prosperity." The author then suggests that

Industrialists from the United States extending their interests to the West Indies could do a large service if they could see that the representatives they send there had some degree of world outlook and were trained in the principles of social service as well as in their departmental subjects.

This book should stir the average American out of his self-complacent attitude toward the people of other nations who are not quite such adepts at hustle and efficiency as he is. It should teach him that the people of other nations love their way of living, of working, and of thinking just as much as he does his. This is a book that makes one ponder. At the same time it is readable and entertaining. It is written in a vivid and picturesque style by one who evidently knows about what he is talking.

Although Dr. Inman's knowledge of the Caribbean and Hispanic America has been gained at first hand from many years of living among and working with the people, he does not scorn to read what others have written on the subject. He has, indeed, included at the end of this book a six-page critical bibliography of works which will

substantiate his statements. A full index of ten pages makes Dr. Inman's book useful to students as a work of reference.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain.

By HENRY G. HODGES. (Boston: The Gorham Press, [c 1930]. Pp. 148.)

In spite of its title this little book is not a complete history of British-American diplomacy, but only an account of those diplomatic questions which came to a head during President Cleveland's administrations, with a survey of the antecedent events and aftermaths of those questions. The only parts which are of special interest to the student of Hispanic American history are the chapter on the "Venezuelan Boundary Controversy", those sections of a chapter on "Minor Diplomatic Relations" which deal with Nicaragua and Brazil, and two pages on the Monroe Doctrine in the final chapter.

The author's reminder that in every dispute over territory between Great Britain and an American state "the Monroe Doctrine was invoked by our people, if not by our government", is to state a well known fact, and his further statement that "the association of the Monroe Doctrine with international questions aroused then, as it does now, the fighting spirit of both divisions of the English race" will be admitted by all.

The chapter on the Venezuelan boundary controversy covers the diplomacy of this event in chronological order, and in accordance with the purpose of the book, is limited to diplomatic exchanges between the United States and Great Britain. It does not carry the dispute beyond Cleveland's message to congress of December 17, 1895, and its result. The final outcome of the arbitration is not given. In fact, little is told of Venezuela's part in the affair. While the chapter is fully documented with footnotes referring to official correspondence and newspaper accounts from British and American sources, no reference is made to Venezuelan sources. Cleveland's *Presidential Problems* is included in the bibliography but is not referred to in the footnotes.

The section devoted to Nicaragua adds little to our information on that subject. Two pages on Brazil give briefly some facts about

the little known occupation by the British of the Islands of Trinidad and the invasion of Brazilian territory in 1895 by an English force from British Guiana. Here as elsewhere enlightening comment seems to be limited to mention of the everpresent Monroe Doctrine.

A short bibliography at the end of the book is badly arranged, without any attempt at alphabetic or other apparent system. Titles of books precede the names of authors. Place and date of publication is seldom given. There is no index.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

Idols Behind Altars. By ANITA BRENNER. (New York: Payson and Clarke, 1929. Pp. 359. \$5.00.)

The present volume, devoted to an interpretation of Mexican art, results from an investigation undertaken at the instigation of Dr. Alfonso Pruneda, a former rector of the National University of Mexico. Although designed primarily for the artist, since much of the technical terminology will be unintelligible to the layman, the book does hold real value for the non-artist who wishes to understand the Mexican mind and soul.

"Nowhere as in Mexico", writes the author, "has art been so organically a part of life, at one with the national ends and the national longings". This art began and continued closely bound to religion. "Religion has always been the dynamo of Mexican art; idols on altars, crosses on mountains, idols behind crosses." Thus, in the art, as well as in the lives of the Mexicans, contends the author, runs the threads of old Indian beliefs. She proceeds, thereupon, to describe how the old Aztec worship reflects the same ancient beliefs of many agricultural peoples all over the world; the main concerns were matters of the soil, its fertility, the watering of it, and the crops. Pre-hispanic art forms were derived from these concerns, and throughout the four hundred years since the Spanish conquest, the native symbols have persisted, and the inconsistencies, the impositions, and artificial transplantations have been rejected. The burden of Miss Brenner's thesis is to emphasize the persistence of indigenous influences in the various forms of art. "There has been no hot house fostering of a response;" she says. "It is so natural and spontaneous that the great mass of Mexican art is anonymous." The book is

replete with curious and interesting illustrations of art objects: wood-carvings, clay models, paintings, murals, pottery, statuary, and broad-sides. Perhaps most interesting of all are the painted miracles, the pictured experiences of miraculous occurrences, hung in the churches by the grateful recipients of divine intervention. *Pulqueria* murals also seem to occupy a prominent place in the truly native art.

The title of the book, "Idols Behind Altars" is somewhat misleading. It does not refer, as one might expect, to the persistence of ancient Mexican idolatry in present day Catholicism, but rather to the persistence of indigenous influences on art forms, albeit most of these have been of a religious nature. Since the revolution, the greatest artistic contributions have been in non-religious subjects. To interpret the stark realities of Mexican life has become the passionate aim of the post-revolution artist. The purpose and goal of the nationalistic artist was set forth in a proclamation of the Syndicate of Painters and Sculptors:

We proclaim that since this social movement is one of transition from a decrepit order to a new one the creators of beauty must put forth their utmost efforts to make this production of ideological value to the people, and the ideal goal of art, which now is an expression of individualistic masturbation, should be one of beauty for all, of education and of battle.

In another manifesto the Syndicate declared:

The present movement of painting in Mexico is the expression and the affirmation of our nationality.

The promoters of the renaissance, few of whom are of pure Indian blood, are conscious innovators who seek to reject European values and return to native values, spiritual and artistic. The results, the reviewer is frank to confess, are not pleasing to his aesthetic sense. And he is constrained to inquire if this is nothing but a passing fad. When the nationalistic fervor, fired by the revolution, cools somewhat, as it undoubtedly will, will not Mexican art be forced to certain remedial modifications?

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

University of Texas.

Histoire de l'Amérique Espagnole depuis les Origines jusqu'à nos Jours. By Jean Toussaint Bertrand. (Paris: Editions Spes, 1929. 2 vols. Pp. xiv, 453; 469.)

The author of this work, of whom Dr. Victor Andrés Belaúnde speaks very highly in the preface, has lived in Spain, Mexico, and the West Indies. Being of the Latin race and a Catholic he understands and appreciates the Spanish American character and temperament. And because he is a scholar of some reputation he is eminently suited to write such a text. Considering these facts, the book is exceedingly valuable for the student of Hispanic American History in the United States since it is written from a non-Protestant and non-Anglo-Saxon standpoint, and it is therefore extremely refreshing to read.

As a unit the two volumes are divided into five parts, namely: I. Pre-Columbian America (consisting of 77 pages); II. The Discovery of America by Columbus and the other explorers of the sixteenth century (114 pages); III. Three centuries of Spanish domination (212 pages); IV. The wars of independence (185 pages); and V. The contemporary period (245 pages). Each volume has a brief statistical supplement, a bibliographical section, an index of illustrations, and a general index. Volume II. contains an analytical table of contents covering the subject matter of that volume. There are twenty-seven maps in the text, several of which are original and all of which are excellent. There are no illustrations.

The work as a whole is well organized, logical, and admirably adapted to the use of the teacher and student. With the exception of the treatment of Precolumbian America, this work is in every respect better organized and more detailed than the *Historia General de América* of Carlos Navarro y Lamarca, or than is the *Breve Historia de América* of Carlos Pereyra, and might be translated into English with more beneficial results than either of these two. All phases of life are covered, but especial and careful emphasis has been placed upon the cultural side. The style is good, and despite the compression of many facts into a relatively small space, the treatment is interesting. This work comes nearer than any other to representing the ideal of a text-book-hand-book which the reviewer has long had in mind. What a pity it is that so few students in the United States will be able to use it!

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

George Washington University.

The Scourge of the Indies, Buccaneers, Corsairs, and Filibusters. By MAURICE BESSON. (New York: Random House, 1929. Pp. xii, 333.)

Certainly no characters of fiction are more strange, picturesque, and rashly daring than were the members of that confraternity in the West Indies of the seventeenth century known as the "Brothers of the Coast". As buccaneers, filibusters, corsairs, pirates, and what not, they were constantly engaged in "singeing the beard" of the Spanish king, with the result that the Spanish Main became renowned the world over for their daring exploits. Among the assorted, cosmopolitan bands which roamed the middle waters of America were representatives from most of the nations of Europe. However, their common language was French, though often other tongues were heard. Their common enemy was Spain, though occasionally there were Spaniards among them. Their common hunting ground was the Caribbean-Gulf region, though some few like Raveneau de Lussan went to the Pacific as bandits of the South Sea to harass the Spanish territories along its border. And their common historian was the Flemish doctor, Esquemeling, though some few others made desultory notes.

The buccaneers appeared in the sixteenth century. Francis I. of France, fearing that the fruits of the New World might be usurped by the kings of Spain and Portugal gave orders to his privateers to proceed against his brother monarchs until they "shall suffer trade to be free within the bounds of said lands and seas of the Indies and America". For the next two hundred years this advice was largely followed. From Turtle Island (Tortuga), the rallying point of the filibusters, the territory under their control was rapidly extended until many large and small islands became bases of refuge and ports of deposit for stolen gains.

Among the most famous of the adventurers were Jacques Sorès, François le Clerc ("Peg-Leg"), Montbars the Exterminator, Pierre Legrand, the Chevalier de Grammont, Nau l'Olenas, Raveneau de Lussan, Jean-Baptiste Ducaèse, Jacques Cassard, Dulaïen, François Thurot, Jean d'Albarade, and others. The stories of these men are interestingly recounted in the author's third chapter entitled "Some Portraits of Great Filibusters". Chapter I, "The Origins of the Brothers of the Coast", and Chapter II, "The Customs of the Coast"

are excellent and well written summaries. The book opens with a brief introduction and closes with a short, valuable bibliography.

Of necessity the facts of the author are based largely upon the account of Alexander-Oexmelin (Esquemeling) whose volume was first printed in Amsterdam in 1674 under the title of *Americaensche Zee-Rovers*. Besson, however, appears to have used several editions in different languages. The account of Raveneau de Lussan is a reprint of his own memoir, while the story of François Thurot is from a biography written in 1791 perhaps by a cousin. Other references include secondary accounts and some official documents. The volume is typographically a work of art and the edition is limited to 1000 copies. The illustrations, including maps, are taken from earlier works and number 141, five of which are colored. There is no index.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

George Washington University.

Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California, a Catalogue of Books. II. The Bancroft Library. By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY (Comp.) Pp. 3, [1], 839. (Berkeley, 1930. \$7.50.)

The first part of this catalogue covering the general and departmental libraries of the University was published in 1928, and it is no exaggeration to say that bibliographers and students of Hispanic-American matters have been looking forward with eager interest to the publication of the present volume. The Bancroft Library, one of the most important special collections acquired by American universities in recent years, like the García collection of the University of Texas, is of great significance to students, and it is a matter that merits appreciation and congratulation that the University of California, with the co-operation of Dr. Juan C. Cebrián, has now made available a repertory of this great collection.

This, the second part, is issued in format identical with that of the first. It was prepared under the direction of Dr. Herbert Ingram Priestley, Librarian of the Bancroft Library and a recognized authority on Mexican history, and was carried through the press under his direction by Miss Eleanor Ashby.

The character of the material included in the catalogue is explained in the Introduction:

It should be noted that this is not a catalogue of the Bancroft Library. Works in this library but not in Spanish or dealing with Spain and Spanish America have been excluded. Furthermore, books relating to areas now included in Spanish America but colonized by other countries than Spain have been excluded unless written in Spanish. Books on areas once Spanish but now within the United States are excluded unless they treat of the Spanish or Mexican occupation. Accessions generally include to 1927, with a few local additions.

The form of entry is uniform with that of the first part; titles are given with considerable fulness, with imprint, collation, and size. The catalogue itself is an alphabetical author or title list (pp. 1-688). The Index (pp. 689-839) is of special value and interest. This is an alphabetical list of subjects, under each of which is given in alphabetical order the authors or titles referring to it, contained in the general list. As such it is the student's key to the collection, and a ready means of estimating its strength in various fields. The material is distributed under some 1200 or 1300 subject headings including, biographical entries, etc., but excluding subdivisions. Of course the greater and more valuable part of the collection will be found under Mexico, with related subjects, and under Central America, general and by individual countries.

Under Mexico, for instance (pp. 757-781), we find the following arrangement: General divisions: Archdiocese, City, Federal District, Viceroyalty, State, Valley, and Country.

Subdivisions under Mexico, the country, are: Antiquities, Archives, Army and army life, Biography (collected), Boundaries, Census, Colonization, Commerce, Comprehensive works, Constitutional history, Description and travel—with periods, 1516-1810, 1810-1867, 1867 to date—, Directories, Economic conditions, Education, Elections, European intervention, Finance, Foreign relations, Geography and statistics, Guide books, History—General, To end of Spanish rule, 1821, 1516-1535, 1535-1810, 1810-1821, 1821 to date, 1821-1853, 1853-1872, 1860-1867, 1872-1876, 1876-1910, 1910 to date, Sources—, Hospitals, and asylums, Industries, Militia, Navy, Political anniversaries (speeches), Political parties, Politics and government—1810-1821, 1821-1853, 1853-1872, 1860-1867, 1867-1910, 1910 to date—, Relations with other Hispanic American countries, Relations with Spain, Relations with U. S., Resources, Social conditions, Social life and customs, Statistics.

These subdivisions, together with much other material found under

subject with country subdivision, *e.g.*, Mines and mineral resources—Mexico, show the richness of the collection and its availability to students and researchers by reason of the analytical arrangement of the catalogue. The present reviewer feels that discussion of the subdivisions adopted is unnecessary and may be omitted with one comment. Comprehensive works, instead of being given a place in the alphabetical order might, it seems, have been placed at the beginning more effectively and logically.

In addition to this thesaurus of books on Mexico, the various Central American republics are represented by much special material and the section of newspapers and periodicals deserves special emphasis. More than 150 titles are listed, and although the sets are, of course, incomplete, in some cases consisting of but a few issues, the collection is of great value as source material—material in which the great collections in this country are generally weak. It seems to the reviewer that additional value would have been given to the alphabetical list by giving country divisions or indicating the plan of publication in the titles.

This catalogue is an important contribution to Mexican bibliography, notwithstanding the fact that the bibliography of Mexico is rich. The colonial period is exhaustively covered by the monumental and invaluable works of Medina, especially his monographs on the history of the press. To these may be added the scholarly and detailed monograph of García Icazbalceta for the sixteenth century, that of Andrade for the seventeenth century, and Nicolás León's contributions to the bibliography of the eighteenth century. Other works, such as that of Beristain de Souza, are of general character, and the number of special bibliographies is large. But the bibliography of Mexico of the nineteenth century, of Mexico as a republic, is singularly defective. This is unfortunate in that this is the period of greatest interest to students of the independent countries that resulted from the dismemberment of Spain's colonial empire in America. The Bancroft Library is particularly rich in this field, and it is the belief of the present reviewer that in this catalogue we have the most important single repertory of material on the political, economic, and cultural history of the republic of Mexico, as well as of material on the discovery, conquest and exploration, the viceroyalty, and the neighboring states of Central America.

Dr. Priestley and his staff are to be congratulated on the careful preparation and editing of this most interesting and useful work.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

A Guide to Historical Literature. Edited by William Henry Allison, Sidney Bradshaw Fay, Augustus Hunt Shearer, and Henry Robinson Shipman. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. Pp. xxviii, (2), 1222. \$10.50.)

At last, the *Guide to Historical Materials* is off press! It has been eleven years in "borning". As all historical students will remember, it was first actively conceived in 1919, and the volume, as at first envisaged, was to be more or less a revision of the Adams *Manual* of 1882. It is, however, quite a new work, and has borrowed from the *Manual* little beyond the basic idea of the latter.

To many of the more than three hundred and fifty contributors who have aided in the work, it will be a matter for regret that the name of George Mathews Dutcher is not on the title page as one of the editors. After giving much valuable time and attention to the compilation from the beginning until 1928, Professor Dutcher resigned and his place was taken by Messrs. Shipman and Fay. Much of the spade work, and not all of it agreeable, was done by Professor Dutcher.

The work is a monument to the principle of coöperation—first, as between the American Historical Association and the American Library Association, and second, as to the individual contributors, who were themselves formed into various committees, each under the management of an immediate editor. Since 1919, frequent assertions have been made that the volume would never be published, and that, if published, so difficult were the problems of editing, it would be of comparatively little use. Such predictions have all been proven wrong by the actual publication. The volume is, on the whole, a credit to historical scholarship.

Some errors have been made, which have arisen, probably in great part, from the length of time much of the material has lain in manuscript, and which might have been eliminated (at least to some degree) by a final revision before printing by the immediate editors of the various sections. By such revision, for instance, such errors as the

following would probably have been avoided. On p. 1087, in the section on Hispanic American history, in the subsection listing periodicals, *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* is spoken of in the past tense only—true enough when the material was submitted, for the *REVIEW* ceased publication in 1922; it was, however, revived in 1926, under the auspices of Duke University and is now in its eleventh year. Perhaps other similar instances might be cited which would prove that there was some “undue haste” in seeing the work through press, for “time brings many changes”.

In its twenty-six sections, the volume presents a wealth of materials covering in general the field of history. This will prove not only a boon to the historical reference librarian, but to all historical students. The short critical comments on the titles listed in each section are those of persons familiar with the field, and represent carefully expressed judgments. The section on Hispanic American History (section Y) was compiled under the general editorship of Professor Isaac Joslin Cox (pp. 1051-1088). He was aided therein by many well-known teachers of Hispanic American history, namely, Professors Hackett, Lockey, Martin, O'Hara, Priestley, Rippey, Robertson (W. S.), Ullrick, and Williams; as well as by several others. The section on Oceania was compiled under the direction of Professor George Hubbard Blakeslee. In this, most of the titles on the Philippines were compiled by James A. Robertson. Other sections show the same diversity of participation. C. K. Jones, of the Library of Congress gave bibliographical aid in a number of the sections.

It is probable that few, if any, of the users of this volume will be entirely satisfied with it; and this number will likely include the editors, as well as Professor Dutcher. Many titles are omitted that some persons would like to see included and the converse is also true. Some will doubtless take exception to some of the critical comments. This would inevitably be the case with any book of this nature. The section editors, and after them, the general editors have had an immense task in going through the manuscripts alone, and the task has been all the more difficult because of the period covered in the execution of the work. It is difficult to harmonize the results of a great many persons working at a coöperative task; and the compilation of such a work as this necessitates, by its very nature, the aid of many persons. The result is better than it was thought could possibly be the case. It will doubtless be long before the volume is superseded, and

perhaps that time will never come. It is suggested, however, that an annual supplement might be published covering the most important materials of the year, and in this way the evaluation of current materials will be kept up to date, and no single volume will again need to be published. It is suggested also that some copies of the work might be bound in two volumes with blank interleaves so that additions and remarks may be made thereon.

In its appearance the publishers have made an excellent book and one that is usable. It is well printed and the thin paper used saves it from being unduly bulky. In fact the volume furnishes one more example of coöperation between the publisher and its studious public. It has, moreover, an excellent index. Notwithstanding any legitimate criticism that may be made of it, the volume will doubtless have a wide and increasing use.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Raveneau de Lussan, Buccaneer of the Spanish Main and early French Filibuster of the Pacific. A Translation into English of his "Journal of a Voyage into the South Seas in 1684 and the following Years with the Filibusters". Translated and edited by MARGUERITE EYER WILBUR. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930. Pp. 303. Illus. \$6.00.)

Books by or about pirates, privateers, and filibusters have a perennial interest, and their reading public never appears to be satiated. The present volume is no exception to the above general rule. It is somewhat out of the ordinary, for it is concerned in large part with the Pacific rather than with the Caribbean area or points adjacent thereto. Comparatively few of the brotherhood had operated in the Pacific, the most noteworthy being Drake, Cavendish, and some of the Dutch. The captain with whom Raveneau de Lussan sailed was the first French pirate to try his luck on the west coast. The fact that piracy was becoming unprofitable on the Atlantic side was the determining factor in the expedition to the Pacific side. This is, therefore, an account of an expedition made when piracy was beginning to be unfashionable because its palmy days were waning.

The volume is full of interest and is valuable for the sidelights it throws on social, economic, and political conditions in the Spanish colonies. The author, an impecunious and adventurous Frenchman,

entered upon the life of piracy simply to fulfil the adventurous urge and to better his condition financially. His account is well written both from the standpoint of the pirates themselves and their victims. Many statements like the following (p. 67) show the author to have been interested in other things beyond the mere act of piracy:

For the past ten years the Spaniards living on this continent have not known what war is; they live in profound tranquillity, and have forgotten how to use fire-arms. But once we found a way to pay them a visit, they have now a large supply on hand. They are unaccustomed to war.

In its mechanical appearance the book is well up to the products turned out by the Clark Company. It is well printed and attractively and well bound. The index is a vast improvement over that of the earlier volume edited by Mrs. Wilbur. There are, however, no bibliographical data (which is a decided lack) beyond the facsimile of the title page of the original French edition of 1689. Another French edition of the work was published in 1690, and English translations were issued in 1695 and 1704.

The translation suffers at times from inaccuracies and inexact renderings. For instance, the sentence,

Mes courses à la verité n'étoient pas bien longues, parce que mon âge et mes forces ne me le permettoient pas.,

is rendered

My courage at this time, I am frank to confess, was of short duration, hampered as I was by my youth and limited powers of endurance.

The translation of the 1695 English edition is better,

'Tis true, my first Rambles were not far, because my Age and Strength would not allow them to be so.

The present reviewer suggests that perhaps it might have been better to have reprinted the first English edition, amending it in such places where correction might be required. The translation as rendered in the present edition reads smoothly enough but exactness has been too often sacrificed. Just why the editor spells "cannon" and "pennant" with one "n" is not clear.

The reviewer would like to have seen a longer historical introduction and more annotations. In the introduction it would have been

better to have said that Magellan had nineteen Frenchmen with him on his memorable voyage rather than to use the equivocal expression "many" (p. 15). Throughout, Mrs. Wilbur insists on the "gay" manner in which Raveneau de Lussan and his companions went about their grim work of piracy (p. 16). There was nothing "gay" about it; for the pirates were part of an economic system as bad for its time as is that of the racketeers of the present age. In her comments, Mrs. Wilbur has adopted the foreign viewpoint of the time and even later too often found, namely, that the Spanish settlements were inhabited by a cowardly lot of people. They were not so inherently, but only too frequently the Spanish settlements were without adequate protection.

The illustrations are excellent, among them being a facsimile of the certificate presented to Raveneau de Lussan by the governor of Tortuga. Five of the illustrations are from the 1768 edition of Exquemeling of which but very few copies are known. Indeed, the narrative of Raveneau de Lussan is worthy a place beside Exquemeling and Dampier.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Bibliografía de Coahuila. By VITO ALESSIO ROBLES. [Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, Núm. 10.] (Mexico: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1927. Pp. xxviii, 450.)

This important compilation was made at the direct suggestion of Dr. Genaro Estrada while he was subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores of Mexico, who, indeed, initiated the series of which it forms a part. The compilation is preceded by an introduction dated Mexico, March 21, 1927. That Sr. Alessio Robles took his task seriously is apparent from the citation from Jules Janin, placed at the head of his introduction:

De tous les livres difficiles à faire il est convenu qu'un livre de bibliographie est, plus que tous les autres, rempli de périls de toutes sortes.

But in five months' time his compilation was completed, although he confesses that

the labor required for the compilation of a bibliography is arduous, unthankful, painful, . . . and it is humanly impossible to make a work which approximates even to perfection.

Especially, he says is it difficult in Mexico, where

the majority of our archives and libraries are lacking in indexes and complete and well classified catalogues.

Much material, moreover, of rich archives has been looted or destroyed, and some has been gathered into various institutions in the United States. Of unusual aid to the compiler was the *Guide* of Mexican materials compiled by Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton and published by The Carnegie Institution of Washington, indeed, "the only guide of the Mexican archives". Use was also made of the results of the labors of Dr. Rafael Aguilar y Santillán and of various other unpublished sources on the history of Coahuila. The introduction, in its entirety, is an important bibliographical essay.

The work itself is divided into various sections, as follows: books and pamphlets, pp. 1-220; periodicals published in Coahuila, or which have dealt exclusively or in greatest part with matters relating to Coahuila, pp. 221-242; letters, pp. 243-290; manuscripts, pp. 291-412. To historical students, the section on manuscripts is especially valuable, although the entire book is a wellspring of information. The work of compilation has been carefully done, and could scarcely have been completed within five months unless the compiler had had a basic knowledge of his materials.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE IBERO-AMERICAN EXPOSITION AT SEVILLE

It is perhaps not too fantastic to divide students of Hispanic American History into two classes: those who have lived and studied in Seville and those who are looking forward to such an opportunity. Nor is this lure of Seville in any wise surprising, for the beautiful capital of Andalucía epitomizes, as it were, all that is most charming and intriguing in the entire Hispanic World. Here are treasures beyond compare. The Archivo de Indias, housed in the famous Casa de Contratación, now offers freely and generously the wealth of its millions of manuscripts in whose pages is revealed the pageant of a new world. The Biblioteca Colombina, with its thousands of incunabula many of which were rendered priceless through the marginal annotations of the great Admiral and Fernando Columbus,¹ lends a peculiar vividness and sense of reality to the epoch of discovery and exploration. And finally Seville itself, redolent with color, glorious in its monuments of Moorish and Christian Spain, is a source of unceasing delight. To Americans, North and South, Seville rather than Madrid is the heart and soul of Spain.

During the better part of 1929 and 1930, Seville offered the supreme attraction of the Ibero-American Exposition. Preparations for this great event had extended over a decade and a half. But the delays due to the great war and other causes were not without their advantages. Unlike most expositions practically all exhibits were in place when the doors were opened. There were no evidences of hasty improvisation. The beautiful María Luisa park extending southward along the Guadalquivir formed a marvelous setting. All of the important buildings were designed to be permanent and with a few exceptions are of a monumental and dignified character. Most of the buildings erected by foreign governments will be used to house their consulates at the conclusion of the exposition. As its name indicates the exposition was limited in scope and was intended to complement and not to rival the exposition at Barcelona. The countries repre-

¹ Probably also annotations as well by Bartholomew Columbus. See Cecil Jane, "The Question of the Literacy of Columbus", in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, November, 1930, p. 505.—Ed.

sented were Spain, Portugal, the United States, and the more important of the Hispanic American republics. There were also exhibits from the present Spanish and Portuguese colonies and protectorates. In this brief article only those features of the exposition will be stressed which appeal to the student of Hispanic American history and institutions.

As former motherland and gracious hostess, Spain naturally felt called upon to contribute its share to the magnificent banquet at which the daughter states were the principal guests. The writer of this article has indicated elsewhere the wealth of treasures with which Spain dowered the exposition at Barcelona.² But to his amazement he found that Seville had been an almost equal recipient of its bounty. In both cities, the government, national and provincial, went to great effort and expense to reveal to the world not only the rich texture of Spanish cultural life but also the striking material progress realized during the past quarter century. The official exhibits were housed in a number of magnificent palaces of which the largest extended in an immense semi-circle about the Plaza de España. This palace, two stories in height, was designed by the eminent architect Don Aníbal González. It is built of stone and brick in the Andalusian Renaissance style. Here the various ministries arranged exhibits presenting in graphic fashion the progress of Spain especially in the fields of social and economic endeavor. Especially was this true of the rooms occupied by the ministry of labor and emigration.

By all odds the most important feature of this palace was the exhibit housed in the so-called "Salón del Descubrimiento de América". Here had been assembled a unique collection of documents, maps, and other objects dealing with the period of discovery. The gem and nucleus of the collection was the set of 120 letters and manuscripts, formerly the property of the Duke of Veragua, the present head of the Columbus family. Some of the readers of this article may have seen these treasures at the Columbian Exposition. It will be remembered that at the request of the Congress of the United States, expressed in a formal resolution and conveyed to the Duke through President Harrison, the entire collection was loaned to Chicago for

²"The International Congress of Spanish History at Barcelona", in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X., No. 2, May, 1930.

exhibit in the convent of La Rábida.³ A few years ago the collection was purchased by the Spanish government for approximately a million and a quarter pesetas and turned over to the Archivo de Indias.

Among the most interesting of these documents are the famous "Capitulaciones" of Santa Fé of April 17, 1492; a letter of the king of Portugal, dated March 20, 1488, granting Columbus safe conduct through his kingdom; a "Provisión" of Ferdinand and Isabella ordering that such supplies as Columbus might need for his voyage be furnished at reasonable prices; another "Provisión" by the same rulers, dated April 30, 1492, in which are confirmed all the privileges previously granted him and in which is inserted the title of "Almirante, Visorrey y Gobernador de las Indias"; and sixteen signed communications of Columbus, for the most part letters but including a "Minuta" of 1500 in which he mentions the services rendered the crown and complains of the treatment accorded him. Among the documents not included in the Veragua collection may be mentioned the terms of the surrender of Granada signed by King Muley Boabdil, from the Archives of Simancas, and several letters of Columbus loaned by the Duke of Alba.

These documents, contemporary with the great Admiral, by no means exhausted the interest of this historical collection. The notarial College of Seville loaned the last testament of Hernán Cortés, "Primer Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca y Conquistador de Mexico", dated October 12, 1547. The Archivo de Indias supplied a number of rare maps including one of Porto Rico dated 1519. In this connection reference should be made to a large relief, some twenty feet square, of La Cuidad de los Reyes (Lima) as it appeared in 1687. It was modeled on a contemporary print by Pedro Nolasco. The reconstruction was done with such scrupulous care that not only the churches and public buildings stand out in relief but even the private dwellings are shown. The spectator obtains a most vivid notion of the general appearance of the viceregal capital a century and a half after its foundation by Francisco Pizarro.

The most spectacular feature of the exhibit was the series of "dioramas" or "cuadros históricos" illustrating great moments in the history of the discovery and exploration of America. These recon-

³ Cf., W. E. Curtis, "The existing autographs of Christopher Columbus", in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 445 ff.

structions were made on a smaller scale than the series in Barcelona depicting scenes from the history of Spain. None of the figures is life size. Yet the character of the subject chosen, the historical accuracy of the setting, and the rare artistry displayed in the groupings invest some of these scenes with almost poignant interest. Thanks to this historical necromancy the beholder is present at the memorable interview between Queen Isabella and Columbus in the little town of Santa Fé during the signings of the famous capitulations; he disembarks with Columbus on the island of Guanahani on October 12, 1492; he accompanies Cortés when the conqueror of Mexico is received by Montezuma in Tenochtytlan in November, 1519; he beholds the departure of Magellan from the harbor of Seville on August 10, 1519, and witnesses the return of Juan Sebastian del Cano three years later; finally he is present at the foundation of Buenos Aires by Juan de Garay on June 11, 1580.

Of the purely historical exhibits sponsored by the Spanish authorities only two more need be singled out for mention. In the attractive pavilion housing the exhibits of the ministry of marine was the celebrated map of Juan de la Cosa of 1500. Reproductions and description utterly fail to furnish an adequate idea of this remarkable map, perhaps the chief glory of Spanish cartography. Anchored close to the exposition grounds in the Guadalquivir lay the caravel *Santa María*, an exact replica of Columbus's flagship made in the royal naval yards at Cádiz. No pains had been spared to reproduce every detail of the epoch even to the meager furniture, the cooking utensils, the hand-woven curtains. The crew likewise evoked the great days of the Admiral, not merely in their costumes, but even in their names, for the roster includes a Pinzón, a Solís, a Magellan, a Díaz, an Iturbide, and a Garay.

Were the present sketch designed to include all of the exposition considerable space would be devoted to the Palacio Mudéjar, with its collection of ancient art, the Palacio Renacimiento with its wealth of paintings and sculpture, the Palacio de la Casa Real, with a marvelous array of tapestries. Something would also be said about the "Pabellones Regionales Españoles", exquisite structures erected by the various Spanish provinces and cities, and stressing in their architecture and ornamentation the characteristic note of the rich and variegated provincial life of Spain. A detailed inspection of these buildings with their carefully selected exhibits is almost equivalent to an artistic

pilgrimage throughout the peninsula. Finally the handsome palace erected by Portugal would merit a detailed description. Since, however, our interest is confined primarily to Hispanic America we may turn from these alluring exhibits to make a rapid survey of the contributions of the new world.

Ten of the Hispanic American republics erected pavilions. For the most part they are to be permanent structures and are worthy of the nations by which they were erected. Naturally much attention was paid to products and industries, but cultural aspects were by no means neglected. Especially is this true of the Chilean, Peruvian, Mexican, and Colombian exhibits.

The largest of the buildings erected by the Hispanic American republics is that of Peru. Its architect was Don Manuel Piquenas. The style of architecture might be described as "neo-Peruvian" as the motifs in general have been borrowed from the monuments of the Quechuas and Huancas. The influence of the Spanish colonial architecture is also manifest. The building is sumptuous in the extreme and cost a million and half pesetas.

The most striking features of the Peruvian exhibit were to be found in the sections devoted to archaeology. Three large halls on the ground floor were devoted to pre-Columbian Peru and to indigenous arts. Here were to be seen the chief treasures yielded by recent excavations made at Paracas by St. Julio Tello, the director of the archaeological museum at Lima. The eye was at once arrested by three mummies, the first of which, masked with a gold vizor and gorgeously appareled, is sitting upright in an enormous basket. In the case of a second mummy the trappings had been removed, revealing a curious cranial deformation. The skull had been raised into an elongated dome, four or five inches higher than normal. An age of from 2500 to 3000 years has been assigned to these mummies. In an adjoining hall was an elaborate and impressive collection of ceramics, classified according to origin and general appearance; most of them came from Chimú and Muchik in the north and from Naska in the south. A number of the most striking and fantastic of these vases the writer recognized as having been pointed out to him several years ago by Dr. Tello in his museum in Lima. Adjacent to the ceramics was a fine assortment of fragments of woolen and cotton cloth found in the tombs. Many of the patterns of these textiles are of great richness and beauty and constitute an artistic treasure which the modern

Peruvians are beginning to exploit. The exhibit concluded with cross-sections of models of tombs showing the mummies and vases *in situ*.

This superb archaeological display is to be permanent and will occupy the place of honor in the portion of the building to be utilized as a residence of Peruvian students carrying on research work in Seville.

It was a matter of surprise to the writer that the exhibits of ancient Peru were confined almost entirely to the pre-Incaic period. Cuzco, Saacsahuaman, Ollantaytambo, and Machu Picchu were largely ignored. With the exception of one example of a very fine *quipus*—consisting of forty-four strings of various lengths and colors—and some fanciful recreations of the temple of the sun and the garden of the Incas in a *camara obscura*, almost no attempt was made to set forth the richness of the Inca civilization.

The display of Peruvian products in the domains of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing was remarkable for its completeness. The visitor was especially impressed by the artistically arranged exhibit of stuffed vicuñas, alpacas, llamas, and guanacos with beautiful specimens of the textiles woven from the fleece of these animals. A picturesque touch was lent by the presence of a number of live llamas grazing on the grounds of the Peruvian building.

Argentina housed its exhibits in a palace only slightly smaller than the Peruvian building. The pavilion, designed by the Argentine architect, Sr. Martín Noel, was constructed in the Barroque Andalusian style. Although the numerous and well arranged exhibits were designed to reflect the progress and productivity of Argentina's fields and factories, some attention was accorded the nation's cultural development. In the upper story was installed a model library of some 5,500 volumes, mostly the works of Argentine authors. The leading publishing houses of Buenos Aires, such as Roldán, Caubut, and El Ateneo were among the most important contributors. Complete sets of the *Biblioteca Argentina* edited by Ricardo Rojas and of *La Cultura Argentina* helped to round out the collection. While these well selected books bore witness to the high type of mental pabulum consumed on the shores of La Plata the writer of this article could not but regret that other fields of cultural endeavor had been neglected. It would have been a happy idea, for instance, to have brought to Seville some of the canvases of the national art gallery. It was also a great pity that a portion of the treasures of the National Historical Museum,

which thanks to the devotion of its erudite director, Dr. Antonio Dellepiane, has become a model of its kind, was not given a place in the exhibit. One of the most popular features of the Argentine building was the well appointed moving picture theater. It would have been still more popular if, in addition to showing films depicting national industries and occupations, it had followed the example of the cinema attached to the United States building and displayed the latest products of the moving picture studios.

The Chilean pavilion was one of the most imposing in the exposition. Its architect, José Martínez, had found his inspiration in the fine colonial residences of the Chilean aristocracy with the addition of certain motifs borrowed from the Araucanians. Its three stories revealed a large variety of exhibits which ran the whole gamut of Chilean industries—mining, pastoral, and agricultural. Among the first the primacy was naturally accorded to nitrate and copper. An illuminated model of one of the largest of the "Oficinas Saliteras", complete even to a network of miniature railways, enabled the beholder to follow the process of extracting and refining nitrate in every detail. Equally impressive was the reproduction of the plant of the Chile Copper Company at Chuquicamata, where are located the most extensive copper deposits of the world. The scenic beauties of Chile were effectively set forth in a "Salón del Turismo" containing hundreds of panoramic photographs.

One of the most impressive features of the Chilean exhibits was the elaborate and artistically arranged display of Araucanian arts and crafts. Rugs, blankets, silver work, and pottery were shown in almost lavish profusion. Chile, like Peru and Mexico, is coming to a more adequate realization of the artistic powers latent in the indigenous races. On the occasion of the exposition a magnificent work *in folio* had been published under the auspices of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología by Aureliano Oyarzún and Ricardo E. Latcham under the title of *Album de Tejidos y Alfarería Araucana* (Santiago, 1929). Many of the plates are in colors.

The two sections of the Chilean building to which the visitor most frequently returned were the art gallery and the "Sala de Historia". The Chileans have always been justifiably proud of their achievements in the fine arts. Some of the readers of this article may recall with the writer the remarkable collection of Chilean paintings at the Pan American Exposition at Buffalo in 1900. Even more noteworthy was

the showing made at Seville. Something over 150 canvases all told were on exhibition, many of them loaned by the Palace of Fine Arts in Santiago. Though a recital of mere names and titles may mean but little, a few painters and their works should be mentioned. Marciel Plaza Ferrand, a pupil of J. Paul Laurens, and an exhibitor of various Paris salons, was represented by four notable canvases, consisting of three studies of the nude and a portrait of the painter himself. Pedro Subercaseaux, though regarded by many as the best caricaturist in Chile, has achieved success in other fields of art, as witnessed by his canvas entitled "La Virgen". Alberto Valenzuela Llanos, the distinguished landscape artist, whose works have repeatedly been shown in Paris salons, is represented by a delightful picture entitled "Orillas del Yere". Among the other artists who may be singled out for special mention are Arturo Gordon, Valenzuela Puelma, Marroquín Palacios, Onofre Jarpa, and Fossa Calderón.

The "Sala de Historia" was only one of several rooms devoted to an exposition of the cultural life of Chile as revealed in Chilean history and literature. As he entered the main hall, the visitor was greeted with the opening verses of *La Araucana*. A model library contained the works of most of the Chilean historians, including especially fine editions of Toribio Medina, Amunátegui, and Vicuña Mackenna. There was also a complete edition of the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. Here likewise were to be found a number of works prepared on the occasion of the exposition. Of these the two most valuable were: *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia que tratan del Descubrimiento y Conquista de Chile*, edición facsimilar dispuesta y anotada por José Toribio Medina (Sevilla, 1929), and *Homenaje de la Armada de Chile a la Exposición de Sevilla* (Santiago, 1929). This latter book consists of a series of carefully written monographs dealing with explorations carried on by the navy in the regions adjacent to the straits of Magellan and the island of Tierra del Fuego.

Spain not only invited to Seville the nations which sprang from its former colonies but extended an equally hearty welcome to the descendants of its neighbors the Portuguese. Brazil responded by the erection of a handsome and impressive building designed by the Brazilian architect, Senhor Pedro Paulo Bernardes Bastos. In the main the style was borrowed from the structures erected by the Jesuit missionaries in South America with certain changes designed to give it a more characteristically Brazilian aspect. The exhibits were exclu-

sively concerned with setting forth the products and industries of Brazil. The attempt was entirely successful. Especially was this true of the section devoted to coffee. Thanks to a number of elaborate panoramas and cleverly designed models the visitor could follow every phase of coffee cultivation. He might even drink the finished product at the popular "bar" located in the basement.

Without any disposition to criticize the character and scope of the Brazilian exhibits the writer cannot but voice his disappointment that no attempt was made to initiate the visitor into Brazil's rich historical and cultural background. The fine legacy of the empire—a phenomenon unique in South America—was entirely ignored. The publications and inspiring traditions of the Historical Institute and the Brazilian Academy might have supplied valuable material. Finally the wealth of the historical museum in Rio and the Museu Paulista of São Paulo might have been drawn upon with great profit. Real opportunities it would seem were lost.

From the architectural point of view the Mexican pavilion was one of the most successful buildings of the entire exposition. Its designer, Sr. Manuel Amabilis, drew his inspiration from the Maya monuments in Yucatan and the Aztec remains in the Valley of Anahuac. He was, however, no servile imitator. He took full account of the needs of his building, both structural and esthetic, and the result has been a superb example of what may almost be described as a national Mexican architecture. The pre-Columbian motifs were carried out in the mural decorations and a multitude of symbolic signs and symbols. The paintings were from the brush of the Mexican artist, Leopoldo Tommasi López.

Although the indigenous elements in Mexican life and culture received full recognition, Mexico freely acknowledged its debt to Spain. On entering the spacious portal one read this fine apostrophe:

Madre España: Porque en mis campos encendiste el sol de tu cultura y en mi alma la lámpara devocional de tu espíritu, ahora mis campos y mi corazón han florecido.

Several of the large rooms on the ground floor were devoted to Mexican archaeology. Two replicas of well known monuments dating from the second epoch of Nahua culture at once arrested attention. The first was the so-called "Piedra de los eclipses", found in Texcoco, and showing the two eclipses of 1477 and 1513. Even more striking

was the "Piedra de Tizoc", preserved in Mexico City, a huge cylinder nearly three feet high and eight feet in diameter on which were carved fifteen groups of captives to be sacrificed on the solar festival of May 17. Mention should also be made of a large model of the archaeological zone of Teotihuacán, some twenty miles northeast of the capital. The chief features were the three pyramids of the sun, the moon, and the god Quetzalcoatl.

To the writer perhaps the most captivating section of the Mexican building was that devoted to education. Here was assembled material for the study of the really amazing progress achieved during the past two decades, especially in the extension of the primary and rural schools. Some of the exhibits prepared by the pupils of these schools were compelling in their interest; and especially was this true of those made by the Indian children. The secretariat of public education had prepared a number of monographs which further elaborated the work carried on among the indigenous elements of the population. Of these the most valuable was *La Casa del Estudiante indígena; 16 meses de labor en un experimento psicológico colectivo con Indios* (Mexico, 1927).

As already intimated there was no disposition to ignore Mexico's indebtedness to its former mother country. As proof may be sighted the *Historia Gráfica de la Nueva España*, prepared expressly for the exposition by Ing. José R. Benítez on the initiative of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in Mexico. The work really consisted of a number of large colored charts, lavishly though artistically adorned, which graphically set forth the Spanish achievements in Mexico during the colonial period. Among the subjects treated were the discoveries and conquests of the sixteenth century, the evolution of the City of Mexico, the foundations of the religious orders, the expansion throughout New Spain of the Castilian tongue; the towns and cities established during the viceroyalty; progress in the domains of education, industry, and arts. In the words of the Mexican scholar, Rafael Heliodoro Valle: "Este libro no solo es un tributo de reconocimiento sino una delicada epopeya de la erudición." Teachers of Hispanic American history will find these charts invaluable.

Though considerably smaller than the buildings already described the pavilion built by the Republic of Colombia is in some respects the most beautiful and fascinating of those erected by the Hispanic American republics. This is true both as regards its appearance and con-

tents. The designer, Sr. José Granados of Seville, by his felicitous blending of indigenous motifs with modern structural requirements has produced an architectural jewel. The sculpture and decorations are the work of the Colombian artist, Rómulo Rozo. The building is a somewhat fanciful reconstruction of a temple of Bachue, the legendary mother of the Chibchas. The approach to the sanctuary is protected by two coiled serpents carved in black granite. The façade is guarded by two Chibcha gods of light, holding in their hands symbols of the sun and moon. The arch over the main entrance is decorated with reliefs depicting the three elements: water symbolized by sacred frogs, earth by stalks of Indian corn, and air by flowers surrounded by tongues of flames. The two handsome towers which flank the façade are supported by eight columns in the form of serpents, with human heads as capitals. The interior of the building, with its exquisite patio and fountain, carry out this same elaborate symbolism which, though fantastic, never becomes grotesque.

Certain of the exhibits in the Colombian building were absolutely unique. The "Salón de Esmeraldas" for instance contained in glass cases a superb collection of Colombian emeralds, almost dazzling in their beauty. In an adjacent hall was a magnificent assortment of ancient hammered silver, an art introduced by the Spaniards into Colombia, and widely followed at the present day. But the pride and joy of the whole exhibit was to be found in the salon styled most appropriately "El Dorado". Here was exhibited the famous "Tesoro de los Quimbayas", which had been presented to the Spanish Government by Colombia on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. As is well known the home of the Quimbayas was in the western portion of Colombia between the Cauca River and the cordilleras. These Indians were the most skilled of all the gold-working tribes; among them the arts and crafts had attained a higher level than among the better known Chibchas. The exhibit was arranged by the Comisario adjunto of the Colombian government, Sr. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, ex-president of the Academy of History of Bogotá, and the greatest living authority on the Quimbayas. On the occasion of the exposition he wrote an admirable monograph, *Ensayo Etnográfico Arqueológico de la Provincia de los Quimbayas* (Sevilla, 1929). The so-called "Tesoro" consists of a large number of exquisitely fashioned objects such as breastplates, masks, vases, figures, idols, and ornaments in bewildering profusion. Sr. Restrepo had artist-

ically and skilfully grouped them in thirteen tomblike niches where they were resplendent in all of their original golden luster. After seeing these marvelous treasures, placed much as their original owners might have left them, one understands the lure that New Granada had for the conquistadores, and the myth of El Dorado takes on new meaning.

In addition to the building just described, Colombia constructed a so-called "Pabellón del Café". The façade of this building represented somewhat grotesquely the face of a Chibcha deity crowned with multicolored feathers. In the interior were revealed all the processes of coffee cultivation. But the writer's most vivid recollection of this pavilion center about the salon where Sr. Restrepo and his charming wife dispensed that lavish hospitality for which Hispanic America is famous. And it may be added that the "café suave de Colombia" never belied its reputation.

Limitations of space preclude anything but the barest reference to the exhibits of the remaining Hispanic American nations. In most instances they were confined to national products and industries and to the activities of various branches of the government. In two modestly-sized but handsome pavilions, Cuba played up its two major industries of sugar and tobacco. The Dominican Republic had the happy idea of faithfully reproducing as its contribution to Seville the historic "Alcázar" of Diego Columbus, constructed at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Governor Fray Nicolas de Ovando. The interior housed an interesting exhibit of Dominican products. Venezuela and Guatemala both erected modest pavilions in which one might gain an excellent idea of the resources of these republics. The former country also sent to Seville a model library containing the outstanding works of its historians. Bolivia, Panamá, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Ecuador erected no buildings but displayed their products in a special structure known as the "galerías comerciales americanas".

The Uruguayan pavilion deserves a word of special mention. In addition to the customary exhibits of resources and industries—among the latter the "Frigoríficos" figured prominently—there were interesting showings of the industrial schools and the Instituto de Agronomía. But by all odds the most successful feature of the building was the art gallery. Here were displayed some three score paintings and a number of handsome bronzes. Among the most striking canvases may be mentioned "Los Cerros de Arequita" by Pedro Blanes

Viale, "Marina" by Domingo Puig (a view of the harbor of Montevideo), and "La Ora de Siesta" by Ana Obiol de Muñoz. This last canvas shows a typical street of the old section of Montevideo, deserted, shimmering in the noon-day sun. Pedro Figari contributed a number of fine canvases which evoke the olden days in Uruguay as described by W. H. Hudson in his "Purple Land". Among them are "Diligencia", "Pulpería en la Pampa", "Baile Criollo", "Fiesta de los Negros Esclavos". The Montevidean sculptor, José Bellomi, enriched the collection with a number of striking bronzes. Three magnificent horses bore the title of "Gineteando". Nearby was a superb bronze figure of a rearing horse mounted by a gaucho. Representing quite another mood was an exquisitely beautiful half-kneeling, life-sized figure of a woman, entitled "Poesía".

The readers of this article will doubtless wish to know how the United States fared at Seville. Our government erected three buildings, one of which, a handsome structure in the Spanish baroque style is to be permanent and will be the official residence and office of our consul. Of the other two buildings, one contained government exhibits and the other was a moving picture theater.

The exhibits were official in character. The departments of the treasury, navy, labor, agriculture, and other official agencies, including the Library of Congress and the Commission of Fine Arts of the Capital afforded the visitor an excellent idea of the multifarious activities of our government. The main building, which during the exposition was the residence of our commissioner, Governor Thomas E. Campbell, contained all the accessories of a model home and the wealth of electrical appliances must have been a source of amazement and envy to the Spanish housewife.

In the opinion of the writer the participation of the United States in the Seville exposition, though perhaps adequate, was not impressive. Particularly to be deplored was our failure to rise to the opportunity of making clear the influence of Spain on the United States and more especially on our southwest and California. To be sure, some intimation of our indebtedness was given by means of a certain number of photographs of missions and a large map entitled "La deuda de los Estados Unidos de América del Norte para con España por la Exploración y la Introducción de la Cultura de España de 1492 a 1800" displayed by the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress also supplied a catalogue listing some of the books published in the

United States on Hispanic topics. But the strangest anomaly was the collection of books assembled by the American Library Association to be the nucleus of a permanent library in Spain of books published in the United States. One would have supposed that the bulk of the collection would have consisted of books and monographs dealing with Spain and Hispanic America, thus reflecting the tremendous interest in these subjects in our universities and colleges as well as among our reading public. The writer discovered only two or three books of this character in the whole collection. This anomaly was the more to be deplored as one of the greatest needs at the present moment is a library of up to date and authoritative handbooks, monographs, and other works available for the use of serious students working on the history of the Americas in the archives and libraries in Spain.

From one point of view the Ibero-American Exposition was a tragedy. The attendance was pathetically small: on many days the number of the employees far out-numbered the visitors. It is obvious now that the attempt to hold two great expositions on Spanish soil at the same time was a mistake. Yet those who had the privilege of leisurely inspecting the treasures and marvels assembled at Seville were well repaid for their efforts. Here the majestic legacy which the Spanish motherland bequeathed to its transatlantic children was revealed in all its splendor. Here was likewise made manifest the magnificent use to which the heirs of *Madre España* have put this goodly inheritance. For a fleeting but glorious moment Seville became the microcosm of the entire Hispanic world.

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A NEGLECTED INTRIGUE OF THE FAMILY COMPACT

The long and secret negotiation of the union between the Bourbon house in France and Spain reached what both powers regarded as a happy conclusion with the signing of a Family Compact and a Convention in Paris, August 15, 1761. From February 9, when Charles III. asked that drafts of the proposed treaties be submitted to him, to this Saturday morning in the home of the Spanish ambassador, Grimaldi, where he and the Duc de Choiseul affixed their signatures to both documents, this intrigue had proceeded through proposal and counter proposal to the final result which both hailed with delight.¹ The union was indeed an important one but its fruits were not so pleasant as its authors planned. Under it Spain suffered defeat in the humiliating finale of the Seven Years' War, tasted the bitterness of betrayal in the Falkland Islands affair, and, under Floridablanca's renewal of the union, failed to reap the full harvest of Spanish effort in the American Revolution, only to abandon it finally when the Nootka Sound affair showed it to be utterly bankrupt. The fortune of France was no better. Spain proved to be too feeble to turn the tide of victory in the Seven Years' War, France could not afford to aid Spain in 1770, Spain played its own game in 1778, and Revolutionary France saw no advantage in it.

The history of the intrigue that led up to the signing of the instruments of union between France and Spain and the story of subsequent diplomatic relations has been told in detail from the French archives.² The Spanish account is for the most part still buried in the archives

¹ Choiseul, in his note fixing the time and place for the signing, wrote " . . . je vous jure que je n'ai rien signé qui me fasse autant de plaisir, parceque je crois que rien n'est plus intéressant pour les deux Monarchies et plus conforme aux sentiments tendres des deux Monarques. . . ." (Archivo General de Simancas, 1716 packet 4544, Choisy, August 13, 1761). Grimaldi wrote in triumphant vein, "La nacion debiera esto al glorioso reinado de S.M. como todo lo que acompaña a esta grande obra, que debemos esperar bendiga et cielo por todos los siglos venideros. . . ." (*Ibid.*, Grimaldi to Wall, Paris, August 15, 1761).

² Cf. Alfred Bourguet, *Le Duc de Choiseul et L'Alliance Espagnole*, Paris, 1906; Louis Blart, *Les rapports de la France et l'Espagne après le Pacte de Famille*, Paris, 1915.

of that kingdom.³ One vital and interesting discrepancy between the French and Spanish versions of the events of this period is to be found in the dates assigned for the signing of the second instrument of union, the secret convention. French historians give the compact and convention the same date, August 15, 1761, while Spanish historians, and English and American writers who follow them, adopt February 4, 1762, as the correct date for the convention and print a variant text.⁴ An investigation in the Spanish archives, to discover the cause of these divergent dates and texts, reveals an amazing new intrigue which the continued necessity for concealment forced on the conspirator powers after the successful consummation of their union, August 15, 1761.

In spite of the elaborate precautions taken by France and Spain to hide their negotiation of an alliance from the other powers of Europe, these governments acquired some inkling of what had taken place. In particular, England, already suspicious because Choiseul had joined the Spanish case at that court with his own peace negotiation, felt that some momentous decision inimical to English interests had been made. On the assurance of Stanley, the English peace plenipotentiary in Paris, that France and Spain had signed some instrument on August 15, Pitt broke off the current peace parley. Stanley asked for his passports on September 20, and asked that De Bussy be withdrawn from London. This action created a decidedly awkward situation. Pitt would now be able to fasten the blame for the failure of the peace effort on France and Spain, and they could not establish their innocence by publishing the offending documents, as their relationship had already been described in a memorial to London as merely a verbal understanding, and, moreover, the documents were

³ The writer expects to publish a book in the near future which will represent more adequately the rôle of Spain in its relations with France and America in the period 1759-1779.

⁴ For the French text of the convention see Blart, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-217. The French text of the Family Compact is printed in all the standard collections of treaties. The Spanish texts of both instruments are printed in Cantillo, *Tratados, convenios y declaraciones de paz y de comercio*, Madrid, 1843. Rafael Altamira y Crevea (*Historia de España*, 4th ed., Barcelona, 1929, IV. 51), accepts the later date for the secret convention, while Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta (*Historia de España y de su influencia en la historia universal*, V. Barcelona, 1929, p. 159) likewise accepts February 4, 1762, but states that this document represents a recasting of the original, of August 15, 1761, to meet the needs of the situation brought about by Spain's rupture with England.

quite clearly incriminating. To make matters worse, Austria, the ally of France, was pressing for an explanation and was no longer satisfied with the vague generalizations that Choiseul had volunteered when its ambassador in Paris, Starhenberg, questioned him concerning what had been concluded between the Bourbon powers on August 15.⁵ It was agreed that they should communicate the Family Compact to Austria but hide the secret convention behind a statement that they had a verbal agreement.

At this juncture Grimaldi's fertile Italian mind conceived a scheme that he hoped would throw dust in the eyes of friends and enemies alike. In submitting the Family Compact to Starhenberg, he suggested that it be altered so that it should appear to be the result rather than the cause of the failure of the peace negotiation between England and France.⁶ The idea met an enthusiastic reception and Grimaldi then enlarged it to include a complete renovation of both Compact and Convention to make them appear to have been concluded after the date of the break with England. Grimaldi was sent complete instructions and new powers dated twelve days after the original powers, and the first compact and treaty were sent to him to be destroyed after the reconstructed instruments were signed.⁷ Grimaldi however, did not hasten the work of redrafting, as further possibilities of advantageous deceit occurred to him. In explaining delay, he wrote the home government, December 28, 1761, that friendship with Austria might be profitably promoted by a postponement of the renovation of the convention to January of 1762, when Spain would take steps to force Portugal into the alliance against England, or, failing that, declare war. With this in mind, he had persuaded Starhenberg that only a Family Compact existed and that he was treating to conclude the secret convention. The advantage of this to Spain would be that Austria would believe it had been given Spain's full confidence in advance of the conclusion of a definite alliance with

⁵ Simancas, 1716, packet 4544, Grimaldi to Wall, Paris, August 15, 1761.

⁶ Simancas, 1716, packet 4545, Grimaldi to Wall, Paris, November 1, 1761.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Wall to Grimaldi, Buen Retiro, November 26, 1761. "Remite aora la convencia y Pacto originales p.^a q en firmando V. E. los nuevos, puedan quemar estos instrumentos y enbiare los de ratification q existen p.^a ser igualmte. quemados, quando vayan las nuevas ratificaciones".

France.⁸ Grimaldi's activities and ideas were approved by his government and the time and place for signature as well as the addition of some clauses that could be shown to the Austrians, was left to the direction of Grimaldi and Choiseul.⁹ By this time England had already declared war on Spain on January 2, 1762, and Charles III. replied in kind on January 16, 1762. The convention could now be given the appearance and date that would make it seem to be an alliance produced by England's declaration of war against Spain.

In the meantime, the new Family Compact with the modified plenipotentiary powers arrived in Spain by a courier who started back on January 8, 1762, with a promise of a speedy sending of the royal ratification, and the earlier French ratification which was to be exchanged.¹⁰ Three days later the despatch bags carried powers to Grimaldi to sign a convention "that will unite us to the Most Christian King for the operations of our present war and for the negotiation of a prompt and good peace".¹¹ At Versailles, January 31, 1762, the convention in its changed form was signed by Choiseul and Grimaldi. The changes were entirely such as would give it genuine character as a current document and would also enable them to communicate it to Austria. Choiseul even proposed to Grimaldi that the empress be invited to accede to the convention "to cement more strongly the good friendship and union between the three crowns."¹² His Catholic Majesty, however, felt that the request to join should come from Vienna, as otherwise the empress might demand subsidies and other advantages which he was in nowise disposed to grant.¹³

The promised Spanish ratification of the Family Compact, which was to be renovated in form but was to retain its original date, started for France on February 13, together with the original French ratifi-

⁸ Simancas, 1717, packet 4549, Grimaldi to Wall, Paris, December 28, 1761. Starheuberg told Grimaldi in confidence that Rosenberg, the ambassador of Austria to Spain, had been ordered to inform the king of Spain of the pleasure with which the revelation of the Family Compact had been received by his court. *Id.*, Paris, December 29, 1761.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Wall to Grimaldi, Buen Retiro, January 11, 1762.

¹⁰ *Id.*, Buen Retiro, January 18, 1762.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Poder, Buen Retiro, January 21, 1762.

¹² *Ibid.*, Grimaldi to Wall, Versailles, February 1, 1762.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Wall to Grimaldi, El Pardo, February 8, 1762.

cation which was to be exchanged for a new one.¹⁴ At the same time the signed convention, recently arrived in Spain, was declared to be defective. Inconsistencies between the preamble and the plenipotentiary powers of Grimaldi would reveal that Spain's decision to enter the war had been made before the English ambassador, Lord Bristol, provoked them to war, rather than after that event. Grimaldi was ordered to rewrite the convention with new and adequate plenipotentiary powers dated January 30 or 31, rather than January 21, which was only three days after the news of the English declaration of war arrived in Madrid. The convention was likewise to be redated to February 3 or 4. No direct article asking for the consent of the empress was to be added, but it was to be communicated to the ministers of that court with great caution and ceremony. Charles III. had already informed the Austrian ambassador, Rosenberg, that the completed convention had been sent him, but that he could not divulge it until Louis XV.'s ratification of it was received. This would leave about twenty days in which to complete the fabrication of the new instruments, Wall pointed out, and requested that he be allowed to show the convention to Rosenberg before the same courtesy was extended to Starhenberg in Paris.¹⁵

Grimaldi admitted the inconsistencies in the convention as constituted and, collaborating with Choiseul, completed its revision, and all the necessary formalities of signature and ratification on February 28, in time to despatch the entire dossier of documents from Paris on March 1, 1762.¹⁶ Wall sent the Spanish ratification of the convention to Paris to be exchanged for the older ratification on March 14, with the comment that nothing further need be done in the matter save to carry it out and that one immediate result would be obtained by showing the agreement to the Austrian ambassadors at the respective courts with proper pledges of secrecy.¹⁷ The exchange of the new

¹⁴ The exact language is: "Lleba este correo la ratificacion del Rey del Pacto de familia, q ha decidido renovasse, aun q sin variar las antiguas fechas." *Id.*, El Pardo, February 13, 1762.

¹⁵ *Id.*, separate letter of the same date.

¹⁶ Simancas, 1717, packet 4549, Grimaldi to Wall, Paris, February 22, 1762; *Id.*, February 26; *Id.*, March 1. Concerning the disposition of the superseded instruments Grimaldi wrote ". . . no tengo que decir a V. E. sino por inutiles se quemaron los correspondientes egemplares".

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Wall to Grimaldi, El Pardo, March 14, 1762.

ratifications took place at Versailles on March 26, the former documents were destroyed, and the Austrian ambassadors were provided with confidential copies. The ratification of France, sent from Paris on March 29, was received and filed in the Spanish archives on April 12, and the intrigue, with this last action, came to an end.¹⁸ Ended, however, at a time when many of the fine hopes of the previous August were blighted; with Russia definitely out of the continental war and with a thoroughly disillusioned France treating with England for a much needed peace but with Spain still ingenuously hopeful that a conquest of Portugal and victories in America would yet woo victory to their side.

This ingenious and intricate intrigue designed to clear France and Spain of blame for the continuance of the European war fell short of success at one major point. Pitt in England was not deceived. When Stanley reported from Paris that France and Spain had signed some documents on August 15, 1761, he broke off the peace negotiation then in progress, conjecturing correctly from the bold joining of the French and Spanish cases at his court that a secret alliance had been concluded. His judgment was subsequently confirmed by the interception of the letters of Grimaldi and Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in London, which revealed Spain's hostile intentions toward England. Only the machinations of George III. and Bute and the recalcitrance of Pitt's cabinet, which caused his fall from power, prevented an immediate attack on Spain and a sudden ending of the plot. As it was, Spain was permitted a longer time to prepare, but defeat in the end came with equal certainty. A more lenient peace from Pitt's successors, plus an enduring union with France that promised better things in the next war, were the only alleviating circumstances in the ultimate defeat that overtook the Spanish kingdom.¹⁹

The rest of Europe, particularly Austria, appears to have been hoodwinked by the Marquis de Grimaldi's complicated but, in retrospect, delightful bit of *chinoiserie*. However, the real dupes seem to have been the historians who have been mystified and baffled where Pitt saw clearly. Either, as in the case of the French historians, they have been ignorant of the entire intrigue and have accepted August

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Grimaldi to Wall, Paris, March 26, 1762; *Id.*, Paris, March 29; Wall to Grimaldi, Buen Retiro, April 12.

¹⁹ For Pitt's knowledge of the true situation of Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War* (2 vols. London, 1907) II. 189-209.

15, 1761, as the concluding date of the Family Compact and the secret convention, or, like the Spanish historians, have found the later text of the secret convention and have taken it to be a redraft occasioned by the outbreak of war with England, and are innocent of any suspicion of the attempted deceit behind this recasting. In addition, it is equally clear that if the original treaties were destroyed, as agreed upon, and as their signatories assure us was done, we only have drafts of these documents. As the original date was retained by the Family Compact, in reality signed early in February, 1762, the chances for error in reproducing the text are increased. It should also be noted that the Spanish original of the recast convention, although it bears the date of February 4, 1762, was actually signed in Paris, on February 28, of that same year. In other words the authenticity of the printed texts of these papers is called into question and if the *criteria* of good practice in the editing of treaties are adhered to in this case, only texts with properly dated powers to the plenipotentiaries whose signatures are affixed to them, and also with the correct ratifications, without which the compact and convention had no binding character on the signatory nations, should be printed in the collections of treaties and conventions as the instruments which united France and Spain.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

Latin American Exchange Fellowships were Awarded in 1931 by the JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION as follows:

Fellowships granted to Hispanic Americans for studies in the United States
Fellows from Argentina:

Dr. Carlos Garcia Mata, Sub-secretary, Department of Finance and Public Works of the Province of Santa Fé, Argentina: Studies of methods of predicting economic phenomena.

Professor Homero Mario Guglielmini, Writer and Professor of Philosophy, University of the Litoral: Studies of the principal currents of philosophy in the United States.

Professor Salomón Herovitz, Chief of the Institute of Genetics in the Faculty of Agriculture and Veterinary Science, University of Buenos Aires: Studies in cytology and genetics.

Fellows from Chile:

Dr. Eduardo Bunster Montero, First Assistant in Gynecology in the School of Medicine, University of Chile, and Chief Surgeon in Public Aid Service, Station

No. 2, Santiago: Studies in the physiology of the ovary and of certain glands of internal secretion.

Dr. Manuel Elgueta Guérin, First Assistant of the Genetics Division, Experimental Station of the National Society of Agriculture of Chile: Studies in theoretical genetics and in the application of genetics to the improvement of plants.

Professor Joaquín Monge Mira, Professor of Geology in the Catholic University of Chile, and Sub-Chief of Waterways, Department of Highways, Chile: Studies of river and harbor improvement and of flood control.

Professor Jenaro Moreno García-Conde, Professor of Mathematics in the School of Arts and Crafts, School of Military Engineers and in the Military Staff College, Santiago: Studies of the theory of functions of real variables and of complex variables, and of the calculus of variations of simple and multiple integrals.

Fellows from Cuba:

Dr. Carlos Guillermo Aguayo y Castro, Assistant Professor of Biology and Zoology, University of Havana: Taxonomic studies in the fields of Malacology and Entomology.

Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá, Instructor in Cuban History, University of Havana: Studies in the historical relationship between Cuba and the United States, in particular the question of annexation.

Dr. Jorge Roa y Reyes, Professor of Statistics, University of Havana: Studies of the economic relations of the United States and Latin American republics.

Fellows from Mexico:

Mr. Tomás Barrera y Arenas, Chief of the Section of Non-Metallic Minerals of the Institute of Geology, Mexico: Studies of non-metallic minerals and methods of geo-physical exploration.

Dr. Guillermo Montaña Islas, Chief of the Permanent Cultural Mission, Actopan, Mexico: Studies in rural sociology, rural hygiene, and public health.

Mr. Augusto Novaro, Musicologist, of Mexico City: Studies of the mathematical and physical theory of music and musical composition, and research in the design and construction of new types of musical instruments.

Fellowships granted to citizens of the United States for studies in Hispanic America

Mr. Carleton Beals, Journalist and Author, of Berkeley, California: The preparation of a biography of Porfirio Díaz.

Miss Anita Brenner, New York City: Further studies of pre-Spanish American art in the Southern countries of the North American continent. (Renewal).

Dr. Vera Lee Brown, Professor of History, Smith College: A study in the archives of England, Spain and Mexico, of the relations of England and Spain as colonial powers in the Eighteenth Century.

Dr. Ruth Bunzel, Columbia University: Further studies of the Indian backgrounds of the Mexican nation. (Renewal).

Mr. Hart Crane, Poet, New York City: Creative writing, in Mexico.

Dr. Lila Morris O'Neale, Lecturer in Historic Textiles, University of California: A study of prehistoric (Inca and pre-Inca) textile collections in Peru,

with reference to the varieties and range of technological processes, the development of design, and the sequence of periods.

Dr. Carl O. Sauer, Professor of Geography, University of California: A study of cultural successions in type settlements of Northwestern Mexico.

Dr. Lesley Byrd Simpson, Assistant Professor of Spanish, University of California: Studies in Mexico of Spanish-Indian relations in the colonial period.

Dr. George Ward Stocking, Professor of Economics, University of Texas: A study of developments in the Mexican oil industry, of the program of social control set up by the State, of the economic consequences of this program, and of the future of the industry.

Dr. John Van Horne, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois: Studies of the life of the Spanish epic poet, Bernardo de Balbuena, in the Caribbean Area. (Renewal).

The following-named artists will carry on creative work in painting, in Mexico; Mr. Emil James Bistran, of New York City; Mr. Marsden Hartley, of New York City; Miss Ione Robinson, of Los Angeles, California, and Miss Doris Rosenthal, of Norwalk, Connecticut.

It is understood that these fellowships may soon be open to citizens of Brazil.

The proclamation issued by President Hoover, designating April 14 as Pan American Day in the United States is as follows:

Whereas the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, at the session held on Wednesday, May 7, 1930, adopted a resolution reading as follows:

"Whereas, it would be desirable to recommend the designation of a date which should be observed as 'Pan American Day' in all the Republics of America and which should be established as a commemorative symbol of the sovereignty of the American nations and the voluntary union of all in one continental community;

"Whereas, April 14th is the date on which the resolution creating the Pan American Union was adopted;

"The Governing Board of the Pan American Union

Resolves:

"To recommend that the Governments, members of the Pan American Union, designate April 14th as 'Pan American Day' and that the national flags be displayed on that date."

Now, therefore, I, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, in order to give effect to the resolution adopted by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, do hereby proclaim April 14th as "Pan American Day", and do hereby order that the flag of the United States be displayed on all Government buildings on that date, and do invite the schools, civic associations, and people of the United States generally to observe the day with appropriate ceremonies, thereby giving expression to the spirit of continental solidarity and to the sentiments of cordiality and friendly feeling which the Government and people of the United States entertain toward the peoples and Governments of the other Republics of the American Continents.

In Witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord [Seal] nineteen hundred and thirty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-fourth.

By the President: HERBERT HOOVER.

HERBERT HOOVER.

H. L. Stimson,

Secretary of State.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

SOME RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Among the titles noted since the publication of the second supplement to "Hispanic American Bibliographies" (HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, August, 1929) some are deserving of special mention.

Sr, Arturo Scarone, Director of the National Library at Montevideo, continues his fruitful activities by contributing the following aids to the student and bibliographer: *Apuntes para un diccionario de seudónimos y de publicaciones anónimas*, a useful reference work. And, of special interest, *Bibliografía de Rodó*. The last named work is in two volumes; the first, giving the works of Rodó, is divided into several sections; the second is devoted to works about Rodó.

Another useful contribution is Barros Paiva's *Achegas a um diccionario de pseudonyms, iniciaes, abreviaturas e obras anonymas de auctores brasileiros*. The material ononyms and pseudonyms is being rounded out by such additions. Cameu and Alves de Sousa's *Políticos e estadistas contemporaneos* is another reference work on Brazil.

Coleman's *Directory of museums in South America* is a useful special list.

An interesting contribution to the linguistic question in Hispanic America is Costa Alvarez's *El castellano en la Argentina*. It contains various bibliographies. The question of what became of Irisarri's books is settled in a pamphlet of Feliú Cruz, *Apostillas bibliográficas, las obras de Irisarri*. We have also a most interesting contribution to the Medina literature, *Catálogo breve de la Biblioteca americana que obsequia a la Nacional de Santiago*, t. 1 (*Manuscritos*).

Of distinct value to the student of Brazilian literature is Motta's *Historia da litteratura brasileira*, with its numerous bibliographies.

Among the numerous volumes appearing about the anniversary of Bolívar's death we note the useful *Bibliography of the Liberator Simón Bolívar*, prepared by the Library of the Pan American Union.

Of special interest, especially in view of the paucity of literature are Pérez Marchant's *Diccionario biográfico del Ecuador* and Miguel Angel García's *Diccionario histórico-enciclopédico de la República de El Salvador*, of which two volumes covering the letter A have appeared. The latter is of value not only for biographical information but as a source book of historical data.

A valuable contribution to Central American bibliography is made available by the publication of Víctor Miguel Díaz's *Historia de la imprenta en Guatemala*. In the same field the material on the study of literature is notably enriched by Porta Mencos's *Parnaso guatemalteco* with its bio-bibliographic notes, listed in the preceding supplement.

Ralph S. Bogg's Selective bibliography of Dominican literature is a useful addition to the bibliography of literary history.

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A SURVEY OF INVESTIGATIONS, IN PROGRESS AND CON-
TEMPLATED, IN THE FIELD OF HISPANIC
AMERICAN HISTORY

This is the second survey of this nature to be made. The first was conducted during the school year 1926-1927 and was printed in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* for August of the latter year. As in the case of the first it is hoped that the present survey will be useful in reducing duplication of effort and in increasing co-operation among teachers and students in the field of Hispanic American history. Hereafter the survey will be undertaken periodically by the recently organized Inter-American Bibliographical Association, and will be extended to include the scholarly efforts of all persons in all countries of the Americas.

The classification of items listed in the first survey has been kept here with the result that all subject matter has been arranged alphabetically by authors under the following heading: I. Colonial and Revolutionary Periods;¹ II. Modern Period; III. International Relations and Diplomacy; IV. General and Miscellaneous. Sub-headings have been selected uniformly in the first three groups. The items in group IV lend themselves to a somewhat different arrangement. All titles bearing on international relations, including trade and wars, have been listed in group III whether they fall in the colonial or modern periods. Items which might fall in either group I or II have been listed in one or the other according as the colonial or modern side has been emphasized. Titles of works have been recorded wherever possible in the words of the person sending them. No title has been listed more than once. There are no cross-references. Titles of thesis subjects and works contemplated have been so indicated if the fact is known. All others are under investigation or in progress of being written.

The response to questionnaires has not been as gratifying or as general as in the case of the first survey. In several instances more than one letter asking for information failed to bring a reply from persons whom the compiler feels sure are carrying on or directing research. Many items have therefore been learned of indirectly. Nevertheless

¹ Under this heading are listed the two items received which may be classed as Pre-Colombian.

the total number of items listed here is 282 while the total number listed four years ago was 238.

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I. COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIODS

A. GENERAL

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NOTES

Under the title of *Sous le Signe de Monroe* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1930) the French journalist, Léon Rollin, has vividly and entertainingly set forth his impressions derived from a recent visit to the countries adjacent to the Caribbean. The tone of the book is critical of, and at times hostile to, the policy of the United States and its citizens in that region. The scope of the work may be judged by the headings of the various parts and chapters. Première Partie:—La Colombie aux prises avec les États-Unis: Ch. I, La tête de pont de l'Amérique du Sud; Ch. II, La perte de l'isthme de Panama; Ch. III, La Bataille du pétrole; Ch. IV, La situation économique; Ch. V, Politique extérieure; Ch. VI, Demain? Deuxième Partie—Au Centre du nouveau monde; Ch. VII, L'annexion de Panama au Canal-Zone. Troisième Partie—Trente ans d'indépendance à l'ombre des États-Unis; Ch. VIII, La jeunesse de la république cubaine; Ch. IX, L'économie cubaine; Ch. X, Cuba, "colonie autonome"; Ch. XI, Cuba, les États-Unis et l'Europe; Ch. XII, Cuba Libre. Quatrième Partie—Le Mexique après un siècle de révolution sous la pression nord-américaine; Ch. XIII, En révolution; Ch. XIV, La question religieuse; Ch. XV, La question sociale et le militarisme; Ch. XVI, La Crise financière et économique; Ch. XVII, La politique extérieure. Cinquième partie—Monroe à Genève; Ch. XVIII, A l'assemblée générale de 1929; Ch. XIX, L'esprit latino-américain. Conclusion—L'ombre de Monroe. This is a book which all students of our relations with the Caribbean should have on their shelves.—P. A. M.

The ninth and concluding volume of the *Annaes* of the Congresso Internacional de Historia da America, held under the auspices of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro during September, 1922, has just been published (1930). It contains the following monographs, written in many instances by the leading authorities on the subject: "The Establishment of the Boundaries of Brazil", by Admiral J. Candido Guillobel; "Brazilian Policy in La Plata Basin. The Special Missions", by Heitor Lyra; "The Opening of Brazilian Ports to the Commerce of the World", by J. Teixeira de Barros; "Foreign Influence on Brazilian Literature", by Adrien Delpech; "The Folklore of Parahyba", by Coriolano de Medeiros; "Juridical Culture in Brazil", by Clovis Bevilacqua; "Philosophical Currents", by A. Figueira de Almeida; "History of Plastic Arts in Brazil", by Argeu Guimarães; "History of Brazilian Medical Literature", by Claudio de Sousa; "The Territory of Acre", by J. Moreira Brandão Castello Branco Sobrinho. An index covering all the articles published in the *Annals* of the Congress is appended to this volume.—P. A. M.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba offers a prize of three hundred dollars to the writer of the best manuscript on the subject: *Historia documentada de los movimientos revolucionarios por la independencia de Cuba de 1848 a 1851*. The contest is open to Cubans and foreigners alike. The Academy undertakes to publish the prize-winning manuscript and present one hundred copies to the author. The contest closes August 1, 1932.—P. A. M.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published as number 29 of its "Discursos" an address by Dr. Emetrio S. Santovenia on John A. Rawlins, the centenary of whose birth fell on April 13, 1931. Rawlins will be remembered as the ardent friend of Cuban freedom who as secretary of war persuaded Grant to extend belligerent rights to the Cubans. But Fish, the secretary of state, declined to issue the necessary proclamation and was afterward thanked by the president for having saved him from a serious mistake.—P. A. M.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has recently announced the establishment of an annual prize of \$400.00 to be known as the "Premio Rodolfo Rodríguez de Armas". It will be given for the best manuscript on any subject dealing with the history of Cuba, and the con-

test is open to Cubans and foreigners on the same terms. Manuscripts receiving the prize will be published by the Academy. The prize has been made possible through the generosity of the late Dr. Rodolfo Rodríguez de Armas who bequeathed a legacy to the Academy for this purpose. Details regarding the contest may be secured from the "Sr. Director de Publicaciones de la Academia la Historia", Marta Abreu y Cuba, Havana.—P. A. M.

Julian Smith Duncan has received a research fellowship from The Brookings Institution—the first research fellow whose subject has dealt with South America. He is working on "Public vs. private Operation of Railways".

A CURIOUS SPANISH-AMERICAN IMPRINT.—Some years ago, in classifying the material in Spanish-American literature in the Library of Congress, the present writer found a book having a (to him) unique imprint. This is: "Lima por dentro y fuera en consejos economicos, saludables, politicos, y morales, que confiere un amigo à otro, con motivo de pretender dejar la ciudad de Mexico, por pasar à la de Lima. Dala à luz Simon Ayanque cerca de la tablada de Lurin en el m^o. de Doña Francisca. 1797". This satire or rather libel on Lima society is too well known to require extensive comment. The author, Esteban de Terralla y Landa, who concealed his authorship under the pen-name Simón Ayanque, was, according to Ricardo Palma (*Odriozola, Documentos literarios del Perú*, t. 5, pp. 299-320) a young Spaniard who came from Mexico to Peru about 1787 where he became engaged in a rather unsuccessful way in mining. Establishing himself in Lima, he succeeded in winning the pronounced favor of Viceroy Teodoro de la Croix. This official recognition secured for him the entrée into the society of Lima, an unmerited distinction in consideration of his character and habits. Owing to his facility in improvising riddles for social occasions he became known as "*el poeta de las adivinanzas*". His activities resulted in a considerable volume of occasional verse, compositions with "kilometric titles"—to use Cejador's apt expression—characteristic of the period. When the viceroy was recalled, the poet was promptly ostracised by Lima society. He is believed to have written *Lima por dentro y fuera* in revenge. The present edition seems unknown to bibliographers. René-Moreno (*Biblioteca peruana*, I. 922) says: "La edición original parece ser de Madrid el año 1798

por Villapando''. Medina, in a letter to the undersigned, expressed his ignorance of this edition and of the imprint. Lurin is a valley in the coast region near Lima where the Chilean army disembarked in the Chile-Peruvian war. Medina was acquainted with the section, having hunted there in 1875, but he did not know of any monastery there, especially one with the burlesque name Doña Francisca. Mendiburu does not mention the author nor does Palma in the *Correo del Perú* mention this edition. Medina's conclusion from the bibliographical information sent him (but without having seen the book) is that the imprint indicates a clandestine edition probably printed in Lima. This seems a justifiable assumption. Menéndez y Pelayo says the Cabildo of Lima, seriously offended by this scurrilous book, attempted its confiscation and the prosecution of the author, but that the Peruvians themselves contributed to its circulation. The present edition, assuming the correctness of the date, 1797, would seem to be the earliest one known. This note is submitted with the thought that some reader may have knowledge of this edition and may communicate with the writer.—C. K. JONES.

The *Memoria del Ministro de Gobierno al Congreso Nacional en sus Sesiones ordinarias de 1929* (Bogotá, Imp. Nacional, 1930); II. "Anexos", pp. 89-129, contains an interesting compilation entitled "Cuadro sobre movimiento de los Periódicos que vieron la Luz en el Pais en el Período comprendido entre el Mes de Julio de 1928 y Junio de 1929". This is a list of Colombian periodicals showing title press and place where published, municipality, name of the director, character of the publication, and periodicity of publication. Eighty-nine publications are listed for the department of Antioquía; thirty-nine for Atlántico; thirty-three for Bolívar; fifteen for Boyacá; fifty for Caldas; seven for Cauca; one hundred and thirteen for Cundinamarca; seventeen for Huila; forty-one for Magdalena; thirty-four for Nariño; forty-four for Norte de Santander; thirty for Santander; seventeen for Tolima; sixty-one for Del Valle; seven for the Intendencia del Choco; and one for the Intendencia Nacional del Meta. Of these as many as fifty-six were published daily, and two hundred and nineteen weekly, and one hundred and seven monthly.

Victor S. Clark and various associates have compiled a most interesting survey of Porto Rico under the auspices of The Brookings Insti-

tution of Washington, D. C. This is entitled *Porto Rico and its Problems* (Washington, D. C., 1930, pp. xxxv, 707, \$5.00). The reason for the volume is stated (p. vii, as follows):

Various groups of Porto Rican citizens some two years ago conceived the idea, apparently more or less independently, that if a scientific study were made of the Island's persistent economic difficulties a basis might be found for the inauguration of constructive developments.

The report, which is an excellent study, is divided into nineteen chapters, as follows:

The Island and its resources; Workers in country and town; Public health; Education; Government organization; Public expenditure and revenue; Taxation; Tax appeals; Distribution of the public revenue; Financial control; Public debt; Public personnel administration; Public works; Banking and credit facilities; External trade and financial relations; Commercial organization; Manufactures; Agriculture; Economic betterment. Eight appendices treat of "The Porto Rican peasant and his historical antecedents" (by José C. Rosario); "Plantation employment and wage data"; "External trade and financial accounts"; "Data on external trade"; "The sugar industry"; "General survey of a farm 'La Esperanza'" (by José Saracuenta); "Farm management; Coffee; "Farm management: Tobacco". Forty-four specific recommendations for the betterment of the island are made, some for action by the congress of the United States and others for action by the Porto Rican Legislature. Those touching the former are for amendments to the organic act, for special congressional statutes, and for appropriations. Those for the Porto Rican Legislature concern insular officials, education, health, government organization, fiscal administration, public works, finance, trade and manufactures, agriculture, and miscellaneous and general. This is the most complete economic study yet made of Porto Rico. Its specific recommendations furnish a fit program for congress and the Porto Rican legislature, and should be carefully considered by each body. It merits a thoughtful reading by students of economics, political science, and history. It is suggested that The Brookings Institution might make a similar survey of the Philippines.

Among recent noteworthy publications is *Three Manuscript Maps of Texas* by Stephen F. Austin. With biography and biographical

Notes, by Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin American Librarian, University of Texas, and Early Martin, Jr. (Austin, 1930. \$50.00). The typographical design is by Charles C. Raines, and but fifty-five copies were printed for distribution, the first five of which have plates handcolored on Japanese vellum and special bindings. The volume is set in Bodoni type and printed on a specially fine grade of paper with extra generous margins. The frontispiece is a facsimile of the Austin coat of arms on Japanese vellum. As a piece of bookmaking, this volume is most pleasing. It will also be useful to the historical student, especially of Mexico and Texas. Here, for the first time are given in facsimile three of the Austin maps, one of which is said to have been unknown until now. Also, this volume presents a critical study of the early cartography of Texas, in which thirty-four manuscript maps, all in the University of Texas, are listed. The three manuscript maps presented in facsimile are dated 1822 and 1829 (two of this date). These are respectively "Mapa geografico de la Provincia de Texas", (drawn on a scale of ten leagues to the inch); "Map of Texas" (in English); and "Mapa original de Texas" (drawn on a scale of one degree of latitude to three English inches). All three maps are described at some length. There is also a facsimile of a lithographed map of 1826, printed in Mexico—the first known lithographed map of Texas). It antedates the Tanner map of 1830, which has been considered to be the first lithographed map of Texas, and was unknown to Austin himself. The list of manuscript maps (pp. 45-55) merits study. The third of Austin's maps reproduced is in the Dirección de Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos in Tacubaya, Mexico. The critical study of the maps is signed by Mr. Castañeda alone. The study reflects credit on its authors, and although local in its nature will prove of interest to many, including geographers and historians. It is understood that the entire edition has been placed.

The *Political Handbook of the World, Parliaments, Parties and Press as of January 1, 1931*, edited by Walter H. Mallory, and published by The Yale University Press for the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., has made its appearance (\$2.50). A special section is given for each country, in which specialized information is given in brief compass. In the sections devoted to Hispanic American countries, it is of interest to note that in Argentina, General José F. Uriburu, provisional president, assumed office after a revolution; as did General

Carlos Blanco Galindo, in Bolivia, Dr. Getulio Vargas, in Brazil, Har-modio Arias, in Panama; and that Lieutenant Colonel Luis M. Sánchez assumed office as provisional president in Peru, pending elections. A leading feature are lists of periodicals published in each country. The volume is a very useful reference work and its material is so classified as to be readily accessible.

Edward W. Gifford, curator, Museum of Anthropology, and Gwendolyn Harris Block, assistant in anthropology, University of California, are the authors of a volume recently published (1930) by the Arthur H. Clark Company, formerly of Cleveland, Ohio, now of Glendale, California. This is fittingly entitled *California Indian Nights Entertainment*, and it is explained in the subtitle as "Stories of the creation of the world, of man, of fire, of the sun, of thunder, etc.; of coyote, the land of the dead, the sky land, monsters, animal people, etc.". The volume, apart from its purely "entertainment" feature is of use primarily to the ethnologist and anthropologist, and secondly to the historian. The stories have been the possession of the California Indians for centuries and reflect thoroughly the Indian beliefs and fancies, as well as the inveterate fondness of the Indian for story-telling—a characteristic common to all Amerinds. Here and there the stories show the undoubted influence of Christianity—emanating at least in part from the Spaniards; but in their main essence the stories are distinctly aboriginal. The meat of most of the stories is the gaining of one's end by cunning, and the "mystery" element is a large factor. Of distinct value are the different versions of the same story as told by different tribes or localities. The volume is attractively and well made.

The Interamerican section of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has recently (1930) published an interesting volume by the wellknown scholar Sr. Ernesto Nelson, namely *Las Bibliotecas en los Estados Unidos* (pp. xi, 437). Its fourteen chapters discuss: The Public Library in American Society; General Data; Evolution, Bibliographical Wealth, Resources; The Public Library and the State; Administration of Libraries; Technical Preparation of the Librarian; The Reading Room and its Annexes; Circulating Department; The social Penetration of the Book. Bibliographical Instruments from Accessioning to the Book; The Public Library and the Child; The

Library in Educational Institutions; Special Libraries; Building and Equipment; The Library and the Education of the Adult. The volume is well written and will undoubtedly be widely read in Hispanic America. Its author was formerly inspector general of secondary education in Argentina. He is a corresponding member of the NEA of the United States and an honorary member of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish. In his preface, he says (p. iv):

Y, escribiendo para sus hermanos de raza, ha creído necesario insistir en la pintura de ese espíritu de cooperación y de confianza que exhiben las bibliotecas de los Estados Unidos; espíritu que a su juicio es el de que más necesitadas se encuentran las bibliotecas en la parte latina de este continente.

From the standpoint of the librarian, the work is important. As a social study, it is admirable.

Frederick Chabot, of San Antonio, Texas, is the author of four recent pamphlets relative to San Antonio, which are known as "The San Antonio Series". These are: *Indians and Missions* (1930), pp. 63; *Presidio de Texas at the Place called San Antonio. With a Description of the Comandancia or the Governor's Palace* (1929), pp. 35; *San Antonio of the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries. A Chronology of her romantic Past* (1929), pp. 16; and *San Fernando, the Villa Capital of the Province* (1930), pp. 31. All four were printed by the Naylor Printing Company in San Antonio and sell for Fifty Cents each. They present considerable local history that will be found of interest.

The Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Cueto of Argentina began issuing, on November 30, its monthly *Boletín Internacional de Bibliografía Argentina*. This interesting and useful bulletin gives a selected list of current Argentina books with imprint and contents—but without collation—prepared for reproduction in foreign reviews. Its value is enhanced by the addition to entries of other works by the author. This publication possesses distinct value for United States libraries as a guide to book selection and purchase.—C. K. JONES.

Montrose H. Hayes, a graduate student in George Washington University is working on a comparison of the constitutions of Chile and Argentina and their comparison with the constitution of the United States. Much of each constitution has derived from the constitution of the United States.

SOME RECENT ARTICLES IN PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

BOLETÍN DE LA BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL (Caracas, edited by José E. Machado)—The issue for December 17, 1930, devoted entirely to "Bolívar Libertador, en el Primer Centenario de su Muerte", with articles as follows: "El Escudo de los Bolívar", by José E. Machado; "El Brigadier de la Unión Simón Bolívar recibe de la Municipalidad de Caracas el Título de Libertador"; "Carta a Don Esteban Palacios", by Bolívar; "Pleito de José Ignacio Tecumberry contra el Libertador"; "Testamento del General Simón Bolívar"; "La última Proclama del Libertador"; "Diario sobre le Enfermidad que padece S. E. el Libertador", by Dr. Alejandro Próspero Revérend; "Autopsia del Cadáver del Libertador"; "Juramento de Bolívar en el Monte Sacro"; and many other short items not generally known, among them the records of Bolívar's baptism, confirmation, and marriage.

BOLETÍN DE LA REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA (Madrid); April-June, 1930 (XCVI. Cuaderno II.)—"Los Duques de Alba, Herederos históricos del Título de 'Encomenderos' de Tarapaca, Sibaya, Iquique y Puerto del Loa". October-December, 1930 (XCVII. Cuaderno II.)—"El Archivo Colombino de la Cartuja de las Cuevas", by Manuel Serrano y Sanz; "La Descendencia de Atahualpa," by J. G. Navarro.

BOLETÍN DEL INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES HISTÓRICAS (Buenos Aires, under the directorship of Emilio Ravignani): October-December, 1930 (Año IX, tomo XI, no. 46)—Original articles "Sarmiento, Groussac y Lainez, en Torno de una Polémica entre estros últimos", Juan Canter; "Los Bailes, las Danzas y las Máscaras en la Colonia", by José Torre Revello; "Una Version poco conocida del Viaje de Duclos-Gayot y Chesnard de la Giraudois a las Islas Malvinas y al Estrecho de Magallanes (1765-1766)", by León Baidaff; Historia del Derecho penal de América Latina", by Ladislao Thót. Documental Relations—"El Testamento de Fray Bernardino de Cárdenas", by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J.; "Portolano de Carlos Quinto, dado a Felipe II (1539)", by León Baidaff; "Una Expedición secreta al Plata (1703); el Proyecto del Intendente de Marina, Pierre Arnoul", by León Baidaff. General or Special Inventories—"Archivo General de la Nación República Argentina" (continued). Información General—"Contribución a la Bibliografía de David Peña", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois (listing 298 titles); "Contribución a la Bibliografía de Andrés A. Figueroa", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois (listing 31 titles); and many notes on various matters. Noticias Bibliográficas—general survey. The Inventario de Documentos Publicados is continued. The index to Tomo X. (nos. 43-44) has also been published.

BULLETIN OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION: December (1930)—(devoted to Bolívar)—"Bolívar's Influence in its large international Aspects", by L. S. Rowe; "Bolívar", by Eduardo Diez de Medina; "Bolívar, Molder of Souls", by Pedro Manuel Arcaya; "The Liberator in New Granada", by José M. Coronado; "The Liberator's last Days", by Ricardo J. Alfaro; "Bolívar's Death is announced"; "Bolívar in Ecuador", by Homero Viteri

Lafronte; "Bolívar in Retrospect", by James Brown Scott; "Bolívar as Internationalist", by Raimundo Rivas; "The Letters of the Liberator", by Julio Planchart"; Bolívar as described by Contemporaries"; "Bolívar in War and Council, 1818-1821", by John Milton Niles; "The political Ideals of Bolívar", by Víctor Andrés Belaúnde; "Bolívar", by José Enrique Rodó. January (1931)—"Don José Toribio Medina: Man and Scholar", by Concha Romero James; "The Centenary of Bolívar's Death: its Commemoration in Washington"; "Modernizing Agriculture in Guatemala and El Salvador", by C. H. Logan; "Brazilian Art", by Frances R. Grant. February (1931)—"Presentation of the Statue of Henry Clay to Venezuela", by Maurice H. Fletcher; "First Baltimore Pan American Exhibition of contemporary Paintings", by Warren Wilmes Brown; "Latin American Foreign Trade in 1929—a General Survey", by Matilda Phillips; "Wings from Miami", by Manuel Urruela; "The Fourth Pan American Commercial Conference", by William Manger. March (1931)—"Buenos Aires, the Heart of Argentina", by Juan José Soiza Reilly; "Fresh Fruits and Vegetables from Latin America for the United States", by L. A. Wheeler; "The Apure River, a Tributary of the great Orinoco", by L. M. Gray; "Recent Railway Development in Brazil", by Julius S. Duncan; "The Immigration Situation in Latin America", by William A. Reid; "The Fourth Pan American Congress of Architects", by Carl S. Ziegler. April (1931)—"The Pan American Union in Pan American Affairs", by L. S. Rowe; "Conciliation and Arbitration in America", by Víctor M. Maúrtua; "Message to American Youth on Pan American Day", by Gabriela Mistral; "The Meaning and Significance of Pan Americanism"; "The Pan American Union and the Pan American Conferences", by William Manger; "Intellectual Coöperation between the Americas"; by Heloise Brainard; "Summary of Archeological Work in the Americas during 1929 and 1930", by Franz Blom. May (1931)—"Pan American Day in Washington"; "Summary of Archeological Work in the Americas in 1929 and 1930", by Carl E. Guthe; "The Colonial Architecture of Brazil", by Carl A. Ziegler; "Latin American Fellowships of the Guggenheim Foundation"; "United States Trade with Latin America.—Calendar Year 1930", by Matilda Phillips; "The Reorganization of the Chilean Nitrate Industry", by Guillermo A. Suro.

CHILE (New York) June (1930)—"Chile's pioneer Work in Aviation", by G. L. Herrera; "How a million Workers benefit by social Insurance in Chile", by Francisco Arevalo; "Real Ties that work for Friendship", by F. A. Pirie; "When Chile rescued Shackleton's Men"; "Rural Life a strong Force in Chilean Fiction", by Domingo Melfi. July (1930)—"Chile's Progress impresses a distinguished Visitor", by E. J. Stackpole; "Child Welfare Work in Chile is scientific and comprehensive", by Ricardo Rodríguez; "Chile's new penal Code", by A. B. González; "Psychology interests the present Generation of Writers in Chile", by Domingo Melfi. October (1930)—"The Women of Chile", by Stella Burke May; "Martin Rivas marks the Rise of the middle Class", by Domingo Melfi; "We are

Bridge Builders", by Ricardo Rodríguez. November (1930)—"The Railways of Chile", by M. K. Wright; "Martin Rivas and the Rise of the middle Class", by Domingo Melfi. December (1930)—Bolívar the Quixotic"; "Educating with Movies", by Carlos Aguirre; "Jenaro Prieto", by Januario Espinosa; "Traveling down Central Chile", by E. E. Wurth. January (1931)—U. S. Scholars pay their Tribute to Medina"; "Save the Child is a new Slogan of the Red Cross of Chile", by Dr. J. Eduardo Ostornol; "Santiago's new Civic Center"; "Latin America in the Eyes of Informers and Misinformers", by Paul Vanorden Shaw. April (1931)—"Centralizing Hospital Service in Chile", by Dr. Isaura Torres; "Pan Americanism" by Jaime Danskin; "President Ibáñez. An Appreciation", by Dario Rappoport; "The Foreigners in Chile" (part III). May (1931)—"Our fickle Pan Americanism"; "South America's largest Corporation", by Helen Vind Sharp; "Whither Nicaragua now?" by E. Bruguiera.

CULTURA VENEZOLANO (Caracas): September-October, 1930 (No. 106, Año XIII)—"La Reconstitución de la República", by Carlos Soubllette; "La Ciudad colonial y nuestro primero Pacto político", by Cristóbal Mendoza; "Relaciones entre Bolívar y Monteagudo", by Máximo Soto Hall; "Relatos de la Colonia", by Fernando Carrasquel; "Pío X y la Guerra mundial", by Carlos Sforza; "Ilustraciones del Romancero Castellano, Cancionero y Romancero Venezolano", by Rafael Angarita Arvelo; "Los antiguos Perfumes Mexicanos", by Rafael Heliodoro Valle; "Los Filibusteros del Lago" (continued). November 1930—"En la Sociedad de las Naciones", by César Zumeta; "Tres Novelas de la Naturaleza Americana: Don Segunda Sombra; La Voragini; Doña Bárbara", by Concha Melendez; "Por los Llanos de Apure. En el Tramo de la Majada—Amanasando Novillas", by F. Calzadilla V.; "En la Capitanía General de Venezuela", by Benito Castrillo; La Doctrina de Monroe—Hispanoamérica entre dos Polos", by Barcia Trelles; "El nuevo Código penal de Mexico", by Salvador Mendoza; "El Imperio Americano", by Hiram Motherwell; "Regimen económico y político del Petroleo", by C. Villalobos Dominguez; "El Duque de Wellington y los Planes de Miranda", by Carlos A. Pueyrredón; "Aspectos económicos y políticos de la América Latina"; "La Raza Argentina". December, 1930—"Origen de los Bolívar", by Luis Alberto Sucre; "Bolívar su Grandeza en la Adversidad", by Ricardo Urbaneja; "Las Cartas del Libertador", by Julio Planchart; "Los últimos Días del Libertador", by Ricardo J. Alfaro; "Bolívar", by José Enrique Rodó; "Bolívar Internacionalista", by Raimundo Rivas.

EL LIBRO Y EL PUEBLO (Mexico), Secretaría de Educación Pública): March, 1931 (IX. No. 1)—"Los Ensayistas Franceses contemporáneos", by Xavier Villaurrutia; "Curso de Biblioteconomía por Correspondencia", by Jorge Adalberto Vazquez; "El Servicio de Consultas en las Bibliotecas", by Juan Manrique de Lara; "Bibliografía de la Revolución Mexicana"; "El Codice de Chumayel", by E. Abren Gómez. April, 1931 (tomo IX, no. 2)—"Mensaje del Señor Presidente Ingeniero Pascual Ortiz Rubio en el Día Panamericano", "La Prosa en Mexico", by Julio Jiménez Rueda; "¿Que

es el Conocimiento?", by José Ortega y Gasset; "Bibliografía de la Revolución Mexicana"; "Libros 'Trufados' y Libros de Limosna", by Dionisio Pérez.

HUMANIDADES (tomo XXI.), 1930 (Letras): "Realismo de la Epopeya Española", by R. Menéndez Pidal; "Para la Lingüística de nuestro Diminutivo", by Amado Alonso; "Walpoliana. Al Margen de algunas Cartas de Horacio Walpole", by Rafael Alberto Arrieta; "Píndaro en la Literatura Castellana", by Arturo Marasso; "El Lenguaje", by Pedro Henríquez Ureña; "Del Realismo o Imitación de la Realidad tal como es", by Carmelo M. Bonet; "Alberdi y la Poesía social", by Arturo Vázquez Cay; "Qué representa Tersites en *La Ilíada*?", by R. Destefano; "Rosalia Castro de Murguía", by Augusto Cortina; "Algunos Aspectos de la Poesía popular de Calamarea, Salta y Jujuy", by Juan Alfonso Carrizo; "Merimée y el Duque de Rivers", by Elisa Esther Bordat; "Asis: La Iglesia natural del Misticismo", by Emilio D. Matleis. (Tomo XXII.) 1930 (Filosofía y Educación)—"San Agustín", by Alejandro Korn; "La Escuela actual en Presencia de las Exigencias de la Psicología", by Adolfo Ferrière; "Inducción y Deducción, sus diferencias", by Alfredo Franceschi; "Principio y Método del Real-Idealismo. Estudio de Crítica filosófica"; "Educación obligatoria de la Adolescencia", by Juan C. Cassani; "La Religión de la Naturaleza y el Porvenir del Hombre", by Chr. Jakob; "La Investigación desinteresada", by Alberto Palcos; "La Reforma escolar y la Formación del Maestro primario", by Juan Montovani; "Guillermo Diethy", by Francisco Romero; "La Enseñanza gramatical. Bases para la Reforma de los Planes y Programas de Estudios", by Juan B. Selva; "Preludios a una Superación de 'La Libertad creadora'", by José A. Rodríguez Cometta; "Introducción a la Dialéctica kantiana", by Aníbal Sánchez Reulet.

PAN AMERICAN MAGAZINE (Washington): October, 1930: "The Reaction of the American Indian to his European Conquerors", by John P. Harrington; "Portuguese Contemporaries of Columbus in America", by J. de Siqueira Coutinho; "Early Spanish Explorers along the Atlantic Coast of North America", by Herbert E. Angel; "Selected Biographies of early Explorers in America", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Setting Goals for Child Welfare in the Western Hemisphere", by Katharine F. Lenroot; "Coronado, Searcher for the seven Cities of Cibola", by Mary-Gay Lindsay; "The World's Future Lumberyard", by William R. Barbour; "Three South American Nations uphold their Constitutions", by Gaston Nerval; "First Conference on Pan American Agriculture covers large Agenda", by M. O. Carpenter; "New Society has comprehensive Inter-American Program". December, 1930—"Bolívar's Place in History", by N. Andrew N. Cleven; "Sucre, the Marshal of Ayacucho", by Homero Viteri Lafronte; "José de San Martín by Muna Lee; "José María Morelos, Mexican Patriot", by J. Fred Rippy; "Inter-American Radio Communication", by W. A. Winterbotham; "The Development of Pan American Communications", by Sidney Brooks; "International Americanists in Hamburg", by L. E. Elliott; "New World Orators triumph in international Contest"; "The Latin American Trade

Outlook", by Julius Klein; "Bolívar Portrait owned by Family of Hallows, soldier of Fortune". January, 1931—"Lighthouses, international Messengers of Goodwill", by Ralph Clifton Smith; "New Fields for Holiday Travel on South America's West Coast", by Cameron Rogers; "The Country Folk of Hawaii", by Robert F. Martin; "Teaching the Nations to play together", by Augustus O. Thomas; "Brazilian Art", by Frances B. Grant; "The progressive Program of President Moncada", by Gretchen O. Smith; "Salient Features of the Population of Cuba", by Roland M. Harper; "Tapping the Resources of Colombia"; "From Sail to Electricity on the New York-Cuba-Mexico Route"; "Pan American Day will feature highway Convention"; "United States chooses its national Council for intellectual Coöperation", February, 1931—"Chile and 'North American Imperialism'", by Carlos G. Davila; "West of the Andes", by Wilbur S. Tupper; "The Conquistadores in Chile", by Helen Douglas-Irvine; "The mineral Wealth of Chile", by A. F. di Valvasone; "Bernardo O'Higgins—Patriot", by Robert A. Lord; "Bibliography of References in English on Chile since Independence", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "The World's Debt to Chilean Flora", by L. E. Elliott; "Trade Relations with Latin Americans", by James M. Curley; "Don Joaquín García Monge", by Rowena Galloway. March, 1931—"Contemporary Pan American Paintings exhibited at Baltimore Museum of Art", by Roland J. McKinney; "Venezuela's overflowing Basin", by John Larne; "San Antonio restores ancient Palace of Spanish Governors", by Etta Martin; "Latin America at the Dinner Table", by W. L. Schurz; "To the Headwaters of the Amazon", by Llewelyn Williams; "Bibliography of Works in English on Hispanic American Civilization", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "The Press in the Development of an Inter-American Educational Program", by Henry Grattan Doyle; "Haiti's Contribution to Literature", by Emerson Brewer Christie; "Jorge Ubico, President of Guatemala", by Herbert E. Angel; "Recent archaeological Excavations in South Western Colorado", by Paul S. Martin; "Chester D. Pugsley, a Founder of Institutes of International Affairs", April, 1931—"Pan Americanism, its Origin and Development", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Henry Clay's Influence today", by Catherine Beach Ely; "Junipero Serra, California Missionary", by Isadore B. Dockweiler; "The Population of Mexico: An Analysis" by Roland M. Harper; "Cuba completes two great national Tasks", by Lyle A. Bookover; "As we see the Revolutions", by Luis O. Abelli; "Coplas of Spain and Latin America", by Beryl Gray; "Serafin sees Power come to Paraná", by Kay Malone; "The First Meeting of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs", by Rollin S. Atwood; "An Inter-American Bridge of Flowers", by M. O. Carpenter. May, 1931—"Pan American Day symbolizes Unity of Purpose and Ideals in the Americas"; "Boriquen—Island of Enchantment", by H. P. MacGowan; "Possibilities of the Virgin Islands", by William K. Barbour; "'Imperialism' in the Relations of the United States to Hispanic America", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Nicaragua Canal Survey Program" by Henry Lepidus; "Making Use of the Air Mail to Latin America", by Gardner L. Harding; "Mexican Desert yields hidden Onyx", by James

Hovey; "Mexican Muleteers", by Carleton Beals; "Trekking to the Shrine of Guadalupe", by Theodore Allan Ediger.

REVISTA BIMESTRE CUBANA (Havana); January-February, 1931—"Una Carta de Martí"; "La Moneda Cubana y los Problemas económicos", by Miguel Irisarri; "Sesión conmemorativa del 138°. Aniversario de la Fundación de la Sociedad de Amigos del País", by A. García Hernández; "Periodismo y Aventura—Un Irlandés en la Tierra del Mambi", by Adolfo Salazar; "Simpatía y Azúcar", by Cyrus French Wicker; "La Reforma agraria de Mejico", by Frank Tannenbaum; "Saco fué un Carácter", by Federico Córdova; "Bibliografía de Enrique José Varona", by Fermín Peraza y Saransa.

REVISTA DO INSTITUTO ARCHEOLOGICO HISTORICO E GEOGRAPHICO PERNAMBUCANO (Pernambuco, Brazil): Nos. 135-152 (XXIX., 1928-1929)—"Arqueologia Pernambucano", by Mario Melo "Dansas Populares", by Samuel Campello; "Lendas Pernambucanas", by Osiris Caldas "A Evolução da Industria de Tecidos de Algodão em Pernambuco", by Othon L. Bezerra de Mello; "A Igreja mais antiga do Brasil", by Mario Melo; "Henrique Dias nunca Escravo", by Adriano Vasconcellos; "O Recife de outr'ora"; "A Fauna dos Recifes de Pernambuco, Brasil", by L. Harrison Matthews; "Antiguidad do Açúcar no Brasil", by Mario Melo; "O Mestre de Campo Francisco Barreto de Menezes", by Alberto Lamêgo; "A Inconfidência Pernambucano", by Barbosa Lima Sobrinho; "Ensaio sobre alguns topónimos Pernambucanos", by Mario Melo; "O 2°. Contenario da Igreja de São Pedro", by Conego Carmo Baratta; "Conclusoens da Viagem que fez Duís da Camara Cascade Chronista de Expedição que as Terras do Toiros mandou o Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte nos setimo et sexto Kalendas Septembres, MCMXXVIII, Anno do N. S. J. C."; "Limites Pernambuco-Paraiba", by Mario Melo; "O 'Porto de Pernambuco' et O Porto do 'Rio de Pernambuco' en 1580", by Eugenio de Castro; "Trajes Coloniaes em Pernambuco", by F. A. Pereira da Costa; "Revolução de 1824", by Samuel Campello; "Os Carnijos de Aguas Belas", by Mario Melo; "Viagem do Brasil . . .", by Henry Koster (continued); "O Descobrimento pre-Colombino da America Austral pelos Portugueses", by Jordão de Freitas; "Mauricio de Nassau; Como Pernambuco deveria solennizar o tricentenario do Governo deste Principe Hollandês", by Estevão Pinto; "A Naturalidade de Cancarão"; "Um Milagre de nosso Senhor. A Descoberta casual do Brasil", by Estevão Pinto; "O Patrimonio artistico e histórico de Pernambuco"; "A Guerra dos Mascates", by Vicente Themudo Lassa; "Instituto archeologico", by L. Corrêa de Brito; "Pagina de Sandade. Oliveira Lima"; "Relatorio do Secretario perpetuo. Anno de 1927", by Mario Melo (with minutes of the session).

THE GRACE LOG (New York): November-December, 1930—"Bolívar, Genius of the Liberator", by Cameron Rogers "A Basis for true Pan American Friendship", by Manuel de Freyre y Santander; "Historic South American Ports—Guayaquil". January-February, 1931—Historical South American Ports—

Cartagena'', by Joseph Husband. March-April, 1931—El Paris del Mundo Occidental—Habana'', by Carl L. Dickey; ''The Citadel of Christophe'', by Joseph Husband; ''Acapulco'', by Carl Helm; ''The Manile Galleon'', Part I, by William Lytel Schurz.